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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN TRINIDAD: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

By
Lloyd Braithwaite

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DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND [a]

The island of Trinidad[b] lies at the lower end of the arc of West Indian Islands. It is just eleven miles from the mainland of South America and on a clear day the Venezuelan coast is easily visible from it. It is a small island only 1,864 sq. miles in area and supports a heterogeneous and expanding population of some 600,000.

The proximity of the island to the South American coast has had some influence upon the social and political life of Trinidad in the same manner as the proximity of the most northern of the British West Indian islands, Jamaica, to the United States and Cuba, has had some slight consequences. However, the main determining feature of the island's economy, of its history and its political life has not been this contact with nearby South America, but its contact with Europe. Although the internal social structure of the island will be examined in its own right it will be necessary continually in the course of this analysis to refer to the impact of a super-ordinate system. To a large extent the economy of the island, its communication with the outside world, the goals which the society has come to set for itself, its characteristic forms of expressive behaviour are influenced greatly by what we shall refer to as the super-ordinate system of British imperial power.

Although at the present time it is the British system that influences the island most, formerly it was contact with the French and Spanish cultures which dominated the pattern of existence of the island society. Moreover, the influence of the French and Spanish still persists to some limited extent in the island.

The island of Trinidad, unlike some of the other West Indian islands now British, was relatively under-developed during the seven teenth and eighteenth centuries, when slavery, based on the traffic between Africa and the Americas, was the basis of the social structure in most of the Caribbean islands.

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[a] The bulk of this paper is a part of a larger study of the island society of Trinidad which has been given the tentative title: "Trinidad in Transition: The Sociological Analysis of a Colonial Society". Most of the field work was done during the period 1950-1952.

The resources of the individual sociological researcher are limited and, in the field of social stratification, it is especially difficult to supplement observation and interview by documentary material. The writer would, therefore, be grateful not only for academic criticism, but for criticism from Trinidadians themselves, relating to individual errors of fact or differences of interpretation.

Prof. Talcott Parsons kindly consented to read sections of this paper. Some of his suggestions have been incorporated here; others will be included in the larger study. His assistance and inspiration are warmly acknowledged; the shortcomings of this paper cannot be attributed to him.

[b] The colony is actually Trinidad and Tobago. Tobago, a separate island, is a Ward of the Colony and for the purposes of this study is treated as an integral part of Trinidad.

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This has had important results for the social structure since the island is a relatively "new" country without a great many inherited traditions and one in which there are few physical reminders of the country's historical past. It has also led to the introduction of East Indian indentured immigration so that the country exhibits many of the features of what has been somewhat loosely termed the "plural society" or the multi-racial society.

Trinidad was under Spanish rule for a considerable part of its history and only became British in 1797, during the Revolutionary wars. Since that time it has remained continuously British. Although under Spanish rule in the 18th century, the island was dominated not so much by the Spanish as by the French. The island was an undeveloped and sparsely populated one under its Spanish rulers. They were, however, anxious to develop the island by immigration and made special concessions of land and of remission of taxes to those settlers of the Catholic faith who decided to settle in the island.

As a result, towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a flow of Frenchmen from the surrounding islands into Trinidad. They came with their French-speaking slaves and, at the end of the century and in the early part of the 19th, were reinforced by a further flow of refugees from the French possessions in the Caribbean. The uprisings of the "Black Jacobins" of Haiti were only the most outstanding evidence of an unrest which swept through all the French West Indian islands where the same struggle between slaves, members of the French revolutionary assembly—the Convention actually sent emissaries out to the colonies—and the planter class in the Caribbean took place.

The solidarity of Catholic belief between the French and the Spanish may have been one factor determining the ease with which French settlers mixed. When the British took possession of the island, there were signs of a very much greater friction. The British, of course, came as conquerors, but in general showed a great deal of tolerance—the religious sentiments of the people were respected, and for a long period even the forms of Spanish rule (the Cabildo) and Spanish laws were maintained.

The antagonism which developed was to a certain extent increased by the fact that the new ruling power came as a reforming power. There was at this time in England a tremendous outcry about the slave trade, which was abolished in 1807, and about slavery, which lasted until 1834. As a consequence, Trinidad, which was a conquered colony, a ceded colony, a "crown colony", as opposed to a settled colony, was used as a ground for experimenting with new ameliorative

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measures for improving the lot of the slaves. To a certain extent these measures were resented by the planter group who had, of course, to bear being lectured, and were at the receiving end of the reformation stick.

When slavery was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1834, there was even greater resentment on the part of the planter group in the island. And the tradition of opposition on the part of local groups to being ruled by outsiders can be traced back to this early period. The similarity of language and complaint between the white planter group in the 19th century and the coloured radical group of the 20th century is quite marked.

Following the abolition of slavery there was a whole spate of legislation passed which brought about the transition to an English system of law to replace the Spanish. Although the community was ruled for the most part autocratically, the incorporation of the whole established framework of English law with its respect for the basic freedoms was of importance and in fact implied that as soon as favourable conditions appeared there would be a demand by people accustomed to such freedoms for a fuller participation in the political life of the community.

The system of autocratic rule, in which the maintenance of law and order and the continuance of government "as usual" were the main concerns of the rulers, persisted in spite of some conflict and agitation right into the 20th century. After the First World War the elective principle was introduced for the first time, although the bulk of membership of the Legislative Council remained nominated and official members.

Increasingly, however, the trend of events in Great Britain and the world led to a fairly sharp transition to a wider participation of the people in the government of the colony and to a greater concern with the social welfare of the mass of the people. During the 19th century, too, there were increasing waves of immigration into the island. There was also a great out-movement as many immigrants came for only short periods and there was always a small stream of emigrants to the mainland, an emigration which developed into a bigger stream with the exploitation of the Venezuelan oil. But the immigration into the island far outweighed the emigration.

The immigrants came from various sources. There was an immigration from the other West Indian islands which were more fully developed and over-populated. This is an immigration that is still continuing in spite of legal barriers erected against free immigration when in the opinion of the Government the island ceased to be "under-developed". Thus in a recent drive (1952) against illegal immi-

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grants it was discovered that about 11,000 illegal immigrants from other West Indian islands were resident in the island. The exact history of this immigration has not been charted, but it came from all the British islands with the exception of Jamaica, with the greatest number apparently coming from those most over-populated (Barbados), or those in closest proximity (Grenada and St. Vincent). Thus the stream of immigrants came both from islands which for considerable periods had been British (e.g. Barbados) and from the islands which had previously been French possessions (Grenada, St. Lucia). The mixed character of this immigration was probably the reason that the Catholic Church was able to retain its preponderance in numbers among the Christian community as well as to exert such a considerable amount of influence on the social and political life of the country.

The effects of this immigration are often masked because of the similarity of race and culture between the immigrant groups. Periodically, there have been outbursts of sentiment against the individuals of the other islands, but these have been more marked by jocular derision than by any form of sustained hostility. The problems of adjustment consequent on immigration, the frequent absence of kinship ties such as the "native" Trinidadian possesses, have for the most part been overlooked, but they need examination if the outlook of the present population of Trinidad is to be understood.

Another main source of immigrant labour was India. The East Indians (as they came to be called to differentiate them from the West Indians) came in a steady flow into the island as indentured labourers from 1854 until 1917. Since then there have been continued contacts with India, but the net flow has been outwards towards India, on the part of those who were entitled to free return passages on the expiry of their indentures. The history of Trinidad in the 19th century is dominated, in fact, by the "labour question", and the attempt to solve this by the introduction of indentured labour: the problem of deciding who was to bear the financial burden of the importation being a frequent source of political controversy. The integration of this particular ethnic group into the social structure of the colony presented no special problem as long as they enjoyed "indentured status", but with the ending of immigration a new status emerged. The rise of a vocal Indian middle class and the elimination of the more demoralized type of free Indians, who gave to the "creole" public the stereotype of a "coolie", present a problem of major importance for the survival of the social structure.[a]

The Indians were only the largest and most successful of the immigrant groups. There were also immigrant labourers from Madeira.

[a] The integration will be discussed more fully in "The Indians of Trinidad: The Integration of an Ethnic Group".

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There were, starting in 1811, various unsuccessful attempts to introduce Chinese immigrants on a substantial scale. In spite of the failures some survived, interbreeding with the people to create a breed of "creole Chinese" deeply rooted in the local soil. The bulk of the Chinese now resident in the island, however, are the products of subsequent immigration. These later folk came mainly as traders, as retailers in the grocery business, and as operators in the restaurant and the cleaning trades.

The other ethnic groups of some size which help to give the island population its heterogeneous character are the Syrians and the Jews. The Syrians, too, are recent comers who have entered as traders in dry goods. Nearly all the small stores in Port of Spain and San Fernando are owned by Syrians, while one or two of the larger ones and a few of the medium-sized ones belong to them also. It is also of some interest to note that the general population of Trinidad makes no clear differentiation between the Jew and the Syrian. The latter is very often, in fact, referred to as "the Jew-man". While many Arabs in their anger over affairs in Palestine were ascribing to the Jews certain "racial" characteristics, these same characteristics were being ascribed to the Arabs of Syria and the Lebanon, likewise on a racial basis, in Trinidad. The reason for this lay in the fact that the "Syrian" merchant before he establishes himself in a shop usually engages as a peddler of dry goods. In return for a high rate of profit he gives out his goods on extremely "liberal terms", requiring only small payments and taking the trouble to collect them himself. The moneylender or other dispenser of credit who thus comes into continuous contact with the people seems always to breed that antagonism which results in a "racial" stereotype whenever such activities can be identified with a particular ethnic group.

The Jews are nearly all recent arrivals. A few came to the island as refugees following the upheavals in Russia after the Revolution but the majority arrived as refugees from the persecutions of Hitler. The structure of the professions does not allow for the easy integration of people trained elsewhere, so that few Jews have entered the professions. They have for the most part been engaged in commercial life.

The present heterogeneity of the population can be seen from the figures taken from the Census for 1944 (Table 1).

Although these ethnic groups are of importance in the analysis of the social structure of the island they will in this report be dealt with only incidentally. For the purpose of this study the whole population is treated as if it were almost homogeneously "creole". This for the most part does no violence to the facts since until recently, as

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TABLE 1. TRINIDAD POPULATION — RACIAL GROUPS

Race	Males	Females	Total	Percentage of Total
African descent	129,092	132,393	261,485	46.88
East Indian descent	101,003	94,744	195,747	35.09
Mixed and coloured descent	37,375	41,400	78,775	14.12
White descent	7,806	7,477	15,283	2.74
Chinese descent	3,749	1,892	5,641	1.01
Other Asiatic descent	536	353	889	0.16
Carib descent	17	9	26	—
Not stated	73	51	124	—
	279,651	278,319	557,970	100.00

is explained further on, the social structure of the island revolved around the relationship between the white creole and the coloured creole population.

The new situation created by the rise to self-consciousness of certain ethnic groups differing from the majority of the population is in a sense a crucial problem for the future political development of the island. However, it has been decided to deal with these and similar problems in a separate study—"The Indians of Trinidad: The Integration of an Ethnic Group".

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The heterogeneity of the population is only one aspect of the population of Trinidad which is of interest from the point of view of the development of the social system. Of even greater interest is the high rate of population increase and the differential fertility rates that exist between the Negro and the Indian groups.[a] With regard to the latter the problem which the island community faces is the same as that in many other under-developed areas of the world. The idea of control of population as well as the practice of it is still largely foreign to the mass of the people of the island. Among the upper and the middle classes there is some practice of birth control, but among the mass of the people there is indifference and even hostility in some instances. Thus, although among the people of the town *coitus interruptus* is sometimes practised, the people of the countryside remain consistently hostile. Again, the use of the *condom* is almost exclusively confined to the towns. Because its use has been

[a] According to estimates made by G. W. Roberts in the "Caribbean Economic Review" the fertility trend in Trinidad is the most marked in the whole of the British Caribbean area. The various gross reproduction rates are given as follows:—Jamaica 1.81; Trinidad and Tobago 2.67; Windward Islands 2.39; Barbados 1.90; Leeward Islands 2.55; British Guiana 2.48; British Honduras 2.37.

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so definitely associated with protection from venereal disease in intercourse with prostitutes, the *condom* has come to be associated with people of this type by women of the lower class who still aspire to respectability. Other mechanical methods strike the man in the street as tedious, and frequently presuppose a standard of hygienic facilities quite beyond the proletarian. It should be noted that the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church in connection with birth control certainly help to reinforce, and in some cases determine, the hostile attitude towards its practice.

This problem of the attitude towards birth control on the part of the people is important because one of the crucial problems which we shall examine is the fact that the society as a whole has committed itself to a "naturalized" version of the welfare state. Further, this has been done at a time when the economic resources available to the community make such a programme difficult, if not impossible, of achievement. There has always been hostility on the part of the middle-class towards any rational discussion of sex problems. Although it is customary for West Indians of the middle class to compare their sexual attitudes and behaviour favourably with those of certain cold and distant people, this is in many respects a compensation against the somewhat puritanic attitude to sex that persisted among the middle class and is only now breaking down.

This attitude of the middle class has always led to a defensive denial, among those not opposed to birth control in principle, that the ideas of birth control could be sold to the masses. Consequently, there is often repeated the story that a woman of the middle classes tried to win over a lower-class mother to the idea, only to be told at the end of the disquisition: "That is all right for you, madam, but I am a decent woman". And there is also a joke of long standing in the "educated" Trinidad community which deals with the inability to "sell" venereal disease propaganda to the mass of the people. Thus it was related that the head of the venereal disease clinic visited a working class district and expatiated on the dangers and horrors involved in venereal disease. The lecture proceeded from horror to horror until the "big-bad" of the district was seen to rise from his seat, suck his teeth, and declare as he was leaving, "Nothing you say can make . . . (making love) unpopular down here."

These stories are no doubt apocryphal; there is certainly a possibility and even a likelihood of such reactions occurring if the matter is approached in an unskilled manner. However, failure of a movement does not in fact indicate that the ideas behind a movement are unsound, unpractical, or impracticable. There is always the possibility that the reason why the weapon failed was due not to the

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weapon itself, but to the lack of ability of the person wielding it. Thus, crowds attending the lectures on venereal disease during the war by a member of the United States Medical Service gave an enthusiastic response to his appeal for the use of the *condom*. Whatever there was of psychological opposition was overcome by the skilled approach of the propagandist.

More serious, of course, is the opposition that would come from the Roman Catholic Church, if any organized attempts were made to spread propaganda on birth control. The suggestion, reproduced in the local newspapers, by Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, that one of the hopes of India lay in the adoption of birth control, provoked controversy in the local press. On the one hand many Indian speakers stood by the statement of Mr. Nehru, while several Roman Catholics wrote stating the official Roman Catholic attitude on the subject and deploring the sinfulness of it all. There can be little doubt that such a debate would have been unlikely a decade ago. Factors which make it possible were the prestige of Nehru (particularly among the local Indian community) and the fact that with the emergence of the Indian group to high social status, the Hindu point of view became respectable and could therefore be contraposed to the Roman Catholic one.

In this respect it is interesting that the letters in the press are no indication of the state of mind of the mass of the East Indian population. From the point of view of selling these ideas to them it should be noted that Gandhi, a religious leader who possessed infinitely more influence than Nehru in the local community, was consistently opposed to the practice of birth control.

There is little likelihood, therefore, in the context of Trinidad society that there will develop in the near future any movement based on the advocacy of birth control. There do not exist the appropriate attitudes on the part of the potential leaders of such movements; and the "official" opposition which it is likely to provoke will prevent any vulnerable individuals from entertaining the idea of launching such a movement. This envisages that the present available techniques of contraception will not be substantially changed. Any big advance in devising a cheap and efficient technique may help to revolutionize people's attitudes. Under the pressure of improved standards of living there is evidence that even among the Roman Catholic sections of the community there is an awareness of the problem. Thus several middle class Roman Catholic families practise the so-called "rhythm" method, while others are known to practise methods condemned by the Church.

The attitude of most Roman Catholics can perhaps be best illus-

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trated by the following incident. An educated coloured middle class civil servant approached his employer and urged that he should be recommended for promotion on the grounds that he had a large family. The individual concerned was not unaware of the techniques of birth control, but did not seriously consider their practice in the family situation. The attitude is thus similar to the one which allows the Catholic group in one of the neighbouring islands to urge family allowances in an area where the problems of over-population are acute.

On the other hand, some Roman Catholics actually practise birth control surreptitiously. Thus H . . . ., a professional of high standing in the Roman Catholic community, practised birth control and laughingly insinuated that the celibacy of the priest was not conducive to a true appreciation of the situation. There are not many, however, who can accept so easily the contradictions between the teaching of the Church and their own practice. One such person faced with the crisis of an expanding family and a fixed income resisted any such suggestion on the part of his wife. However, the latter solved the problem by secretly using contraceptives to the consequent mystification of her husband, who could not understand why babies had ceased to come forth.

The net result of this complex of attitude and sentiment is that the population continues to grow impressively. Some indication of the rate of increase can be had from the examination of the crude birth rates.

"An analysis of the data on record in the Annual Reports of the Registrar-General of Trinidad and Tobago reveals a decline in the registered number of births from 32.5 per 1000 of the population per year in 1901-1910 to 27.8 in 1931-1940 with respect to the population exclusive of the East Indian element. Since then and principally during and after World War II the crude birth rate has increased. The mean figure for the population exclusive of the East Indians during 1941-1948 is 33.5 registered births per 1000". (21, p. 131.)

At the same time the comparable figures for the East Indian population are given as 35.8 per 1000 in 1901-1910, rising to 38.8 per 1000 for the period 1931-40 and reaching the highest rate of 45.7 per 1000 of population during the period 1941 to 1948.

While the prevailing attitudes towards birth control tend to encourage an increase in population, the effective development of public health measures, here as elsewhere, has accentuated the trend towards expansion. There have been marked falls in mortality trends. Whereas in the past the high mortality rates countered the high rate of fertility, this is no longer the case.

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> "In 1921," writes G. W. Roberts, "which may be conveniently taken as marking the end of the period of high mortality, Trinidad showed a mortality among female infants of 144 per 1,000, while only 78% of all live born females survived to age of 5 . . . . Since 1921, impressive reductions in mortality particularly among infants and children of school age have been witnessed. In Trinidad, for instance, infant mortality had by 1946 been nearly halved, while only 10% of all live born females were lost by age 5." [a]

The likely increase of population dependent on the balance between fertility and mortality between 1946 and 1961 has been estimated as 50%.

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY RATES

Differential fertility rates for different social classes and social groups have not been worked out. In the more urban areas the fact that English people do not possess as large families as those of the other races does not pass unnoticed. The naivete of the general public can perhaps be assessed by the fact that in a public discussion it was alleged by a male middle-grade civil servant that this was because the English people slept on different beds. It was assumed that the family limitation sprang from abstention, and that such abstention was of course impossible as long as people slept on double beds.

Although the number of Europeans in the island has been of the greatest importance in maintaining a racial exclusiveness at the top of the social class hierarchy, the numbers involved are none the less too small to be of any serious political significance under the system of adult suffrage and limited self-government now obtaining. Moreover, in spite of the smallness in family size the European group maintains its identity by a flow of immigrants from outside.

The most important of the differences in fertility rates and the one most visible is the differential rate between the East Indians and Negroes. The East Indian group which for so long enjoyed minority status both in a sociological and demographic sense threatens within the next couple of decades to become the largest single group in the country and to constitute in fact a majority of the population. In the Census report for 1946 the Census Officer predicted that this would take place in 1963 (51). This has important implications, political and cultural, for the structure of the island society. There is only slight awareness, however, of the radical transformation this social structure is likely to undergo.[b]

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[a] Report on First Seminar on Adult Education in the Caribbean, Extra-Mural Department, University College of the West Indies, 1953.

[b] The reasons for the differential fertility are discussed elsewhere.

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DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

The numbers and distribution of the population and of its separate ethnic groups have important consequences for the system of social stratification. The increasing urbanization of the population is something which concerns us here. The proportion of people living within the town has grown and can be expected to grow much further. One reason for this is the centralizing tendency of the administration which makes all people look towards the town. In part it flowed from the relative case of communication within the island. Another factor was the opportunity for domestic work and employment in the town for women which tended to encourage immigration on their part to the town.

Unfortunately the census areas do not coincide with the natural areas. Even so Leonard Broom in his study of urbanization in the West Indies, using census data, found that Trinidad was the most urbanized of the West Indian islands. (3) A rough estimate would indicate that approximately 40% of the population would *not* be living in villages.

Port of Spain, the main city and the capital, is officially estimated as having a population of 92,793. However, the administrative boundaries exclude not only some of the main residential suburbs (St. Anns, Maraval, Four Roads, Diego Martin) but also some of the most important working class districts as well. Moreover, new townships have grown up along the Eastern main roads which lead out of Port of Spain. Many people commute daily into Port of Spain from Arima, which is twenty-four miles away, while the whole area from Port of Spain to Tunapuna, ten miles, and including Curepe, St. Joseph (the ancient capital), San Juan, Barataria and Laventille threatens to become, within the next couple of decades, one large built-up area which will merge into Port of Spain. The possibility of commuting into Port of Spain is becoming increasingly a habit because of the shortage of housing within Port of Spain itself. The fall in rents compensates for the increased fares consequent upon living out of the city, and in any case, these fares are not high.

Many of the people in the new townships work in and around their districts, some indeed in agriculture, but increasingly they come under the social dominance of the towns.

The other main town of San Fernando had a population of 28,842 in the census of 1946 and has increased proportionately. It must not be forgotten either that the effect of the oil industry is, if not to urbanize the population of the South, then to make them more inclined towards industrialized and urbanized types of employment and to render agriculture less congenial.

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Of interest here is the fact that the location of the main industries has been important in the formation of local community groups. This point needs to be stressed because of the relative lack of integration within these communities. The tenuousness of local ties has been responsible in part for the fact that industrial relations tend to assume an especial significance. Thus, although there is a generally recognized social division of some importance between the North and the South of the island, the identification by members of the society of the units or groups which go to make up the society is made in industrial terms. Thus, the average Trinidadian speaks of the oilfields as a unit and almost as if it were a geographical area. He talks about the possibility of a strike in the oilfields, rather than of a strike in a particular area, or with a particular company. Similarly, the sugar estates rather than the village community tends to be the readily visible group. From the point of view of the threats to the integration of the society and its particular type of social life the relationships between the groups in industrial units is of great importance.

The dominance of the estate and the oilfield shows itself in all the areas where they are established. Thus, apart from the more urban communities the most easily identifiable manner in which villages are described is by placing them as dependent on sugar or oil or coconuts. For these reasons in the account of the main industries and the problems which face them an effort is made to describe the nature of the industrial and social relationships arising from the establishment of such industries.

However, the process of urbanization, the spread of urban influence, and the dominance of the estate have not prevented the emergence and flourishing of local communities. In the small and remote estate a community governed by the employer/employee relationship is established. This, however, is not typical. The sugar estates are large and the relationship of workers and cane farmers to the estate has not prevented the independent functioning of the village life. The same holds good for other industries. These local communities all have their own distinctive names and a quality of social life of their own. They are not swallowed anonymously into the estate. In the census of 1946 there were 74 villages with a population of between 500 and 1,000; and 93 villages with a population of over 1,000 with a total population of approximately 211,000[a]

ECONOMY

The problem facing the island society is one of providing an increasingly rising standard of living for the mass of its inhabitants,

[a] Estimated from Census Report of 1946 printed by the Government Printer, Kingston, Jamaica, and laid as a Council Paper.

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of meeting an unsatisfied demand for an even higher standard arising from a variety of causes. The resources at its disposal for doing this are somewhat limited.

The economic life of the colony is dominated by its external relations with the outside world and in particular with Great Britain. This metropolitan dominance of the country's economy has been of long standing. It was established during the period of slavery when the growth of export crops was encouraged. It was this dominance which consequently created a crisis in the economy of the island when slavery was abolished. The difficult position in which the planter group in the area considered themselves placed was further accentuated by the adoption a few years later of Free Trade in Britain, which meant that the preferential duties upon which the West Indies relied were withdrawn.[a]

The characteristic dependence on the external market as well as the reliance on sugar as one of the main export crops continued through the 19th century, towards the end of which the establishment of the beet sugar industry made the crisis in the sugar industry chronic. The persisting general depression in the area was the cause of the appointment of two Royal Commissions during the 19th century.[b] In the latter half of the 19th century, cocoa became another export crop which rivalled sugar in importance.

The influence of the sugar industry can be seen in the fact that it is the industry which is best documented. There has been the report of the Sugar Industry Committee of which Professor Benham, then Economic Adviser to the Comptroller of Development of Welfare, was Chairman, and later the Soulbury Commission Report.

The reasons for the continued pre-eminence of sugar are interesting. First, there was the idea that the West Indies enjoyed a "comparative advantage" in sugar and should therefore concentrate on this activity. This was specifically stated with reference to Jamaica by a Committee of which Professor Benham was Chairman. Although not so explicitly stated, in Trinidad the sugar industry was considered an essential part of the economy and the appointment of

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[a] For discussion of the "Free Trade" controversy and its effects upon the West Indies in general terms see—

Earl Grey: "The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration"
Morell, W. P.: "The Colonial Policy of Peel and Russell
Morrell, W. P. & Bell, K. N.: "Select Documents on British Colonial Policy." Oxford.

[b] See the reports of the Royal Commissions of 1882 and 1896. Both these reports, and the evidence and memoranda submitted by them, are a source of much information on the social and economic life of the area in the second half of the 19th century.

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the Benham Committee was made in an effort to rescue it from a crisis caused by labour shortage due to the establishment of U. S. bases. Oil, which had developed into a major industry during the first half of the 20th century, was considered in official circles to be a wasting asset; and cocoa, which had assumed a great deal of importance in the 19th century had declined greatly in production.

This external dependence upon export crops, and in particular the heavy dependence upon sugar, has frequently been criticized by politicians and more recently has become a major concern of the Government authorities. Thus the Report of the Agricultural Policy Committee of Trinidad and Tobago (1943) laid great stress on the need for the development of a more diversified agriculture and a system of mixed farming. This stress on the need for mixed farming springs in part, however, from the need to deal with the problem of safeguarding the fertility of the soil, in which connection it was intimately linked with the recommendation for the social control of land-use through leasehold rather than freehold tenure.

However, the sugar industry still constitutes one of the main "industries" of the island, and much of the political argumentation centres around the political and social role of this industry. Its historical associations with slavery and the slave trade have died hard as one can easily see when one reads the debate on the establishment of a Labour (Sugar) Welfare Board for the colony.

THE LINK WITH THE AMERICAS

Geographically the West Indies are part of the Americas, though politically and socially the ties with the United Kingdom have always been of predominant importance.

The special geographical position of the West Indies was well recognized in the earlier period of its history and, indeed, was one of the major causes of friction between the West Indians and the "Mother Country" during the period of the revolutionary war against America. The creation of the United States as an independent entity, however, tended to break the natural link of the West Indies with the Americas.

Until the turn of the 19th century there was an American market for West Indian sugar; and North America is still one of the main absorbers of the colonies' exports of cocoa. The importance of the geographical link was shown when in 1912 a Reciprocal Trade Agreement was made with Canada. The encouragement of trade with Canada became a paramount interest of the islands and a Trade Commissioner was appointed in Canada before a similar appointment was effected in England.

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The recent international currency position of the sterling bloc, however, made the continuance of such trade difficult, since for the purposes of exchange control the Canadian dollar, from the point of view of the sterling area, was placed in the same category as the American dollar.

The existence during the war and post-war years of the bulk purchasing schemes in Great Britain, and the guaranteed market which these afforded, while of great importance to the West Indies, did not solve the problem. They rather increased it, since the British Government re-sold some of the sugar to the Canadian market. Thus there appeared to be a conflict of interests here between the Imperial and the local interest.

The problem was further accentuated by the post-war commitment on the part of the Imperial authorities to engage in free international trade. This led to agreements at Geneva (G.A.T.T.) in which the United Kingdom undertook to work toward greater freedom of trade.

The post-war need for expansion of United Kingdom exports led to an agreement with Cuba for increased trade with that country which involved the purchase of Cuban sugar.[a] This agreement became immediately known in the West Indies as the "Black Pact", and it was looked upon generally as a betrayal of West Indian (and Trinidad) interests. In this delicate field, where political, economic and moral questions mingle so greatly and so confusedly, it is difficult to decide on the merits of the case. None the less the West Indian interests obviously feel that eternal vigilance is the price to be paid for assured and expanding markets.

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[a] A group of U. K. business men reported thus:-
"The U.S.A. is by far the largest market for Cuban sugar and the U.K. is the second largest. The U.S. is also the biggest supplier of Cuba's requirements and provides no less than 79% of total Cuban imports while the U.K. share in 1951 amounted only to 3% and even this figure was abnormal in that U.K. exports in that year included goods covered by one large contract.
"An important factor in Trade with Cuba is the U.S. Tariff preference which has existed since 1902 and was strengthened in 1934 and was confirmed by G.A.T.T. when Cuba become a member. U.K. trade with Cuba has been carried on under the Anglo-Cuban Trade Agreement which was concluded in August 1951 and which remains in force until 31st December, 1953. This agreement eliminated the U.S.A. preference on a range of about 80 items of U.K. exports to Cuba, while in return for their tariff concession the U.K. undertook to import 1-5 million tons of sugar during the period of the Agreement and to licence the import of 500,000 dollars worth of cigars in each of the years 1952 and 1953. Over a wide range of goods, however, the U.S.A. still enjoys a preference, since all countries except the U.S.A. pay a 20% surcharge on the duty. In a highly price-conscious market this advantage constitutes quite an important factor particularly in regard to consumer goods."
"Markets in the Caribbean". Report of the U.K. Trade Mission to Venezuela, Columbia, The Dominican Republic, Cuba and Mexico, November-December 1952, H.M.S.O. 1953; p. 39.)

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Another delegation was immediately dispatched to the United Kingdom in order to present a united case for the West Indies. Reassurances were given that British West Indian sugar interests would be safeguarded. The announcement in May, 1953, that a Cuban delegation would be entering into trade negotiations once more awakened the anxieties of the West Indies.

In general the position of the West Indies between the two wars was one of extreme dependence upon Great Britain. The tie with the Mother Country and the consequent restrictions on trade tended to produce adverse criticism of this link. One reflection of this is that periodically there arise hare-brained schemes for making the West Indies a province of Canada. Another aspect of this resentment (which finds reflection not only in the man in the street of the towns, but also among business men and in responsible political circles) is the demand that the island or the West Indies as a whole (sometimes it is not quite clear which) should be allowed to trade freely with other nations.

In support of this argument it has been pointed out that Trinidad was a nett dollar saver; that the establishment of the military bases in the island had brought in a great deal of American currency from which the island had not profited from the point of view of its trading position. Those who were also politically hostile to the attachment to the United Kingdom added that the lease of the bases to the U.S.A. during the War had been made for "50 old destroyers" and without consultation. When Britain needed assistance, it was implied, she was prepared to sell the West Indies in her own interest and without regard to the interest of the islanders.[a]

It is difficult to believe that these arguments are put forward with any degree of seriousness from the intellectual point of view. They flourish among the general public as part of that vague anti-metropolitan sentiment which seems to generate itself almost automatically in the colonial areas. It is another stick with which to flay both the Imperial connection and the local government. On the part of the business men and politicians it would appear to be a means of exerting pressure on the Government authorities in the

[a] Thus the Hon. Raymond Quevedo in the Legislative Council, Tuesday, 4th December 1951—
"This little island cannot demand anything for its products as far as the markets of the world are concerned. We have no voice in our own affairs. Our economy is inextricably bound up with Britain, and all we can get are the crumbs that fall from the table, sometimes we can get no crumbs at all. We have to sell and buy in other markets often at the most disadvantageous prices. What happens to our sugar? It is sold to Canada by the United Kingdom at a profit. Out of common decency they ought to give us the rich profits they make on it. Have we any say in the matter?"

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hope of obtaining slightly more liberal terms as regard licences. Businessmen are aware that if currency were available many American goods would be able to compete successfully within the area, and some commercial agents are financially interested in exploiting the situation.

From a practical point of view the economy of the island, and indeed of the whole West Indian area, is so unstable, the external economic dominance and dependence on external markets are so great, that the existence of a viable economic unit possessing its own independent currency is unthinkable. The problem should be posed as attachment to either the sterling or the dollar bloc.

OPPOSITION TO EXCHANGE CONTROL

The antagonism to exchange control springs in part from the bureaucratic trade and exchange controls which, as in other countries, created frictions and irritations, predisposing the people to judge governmental policy in a derogatory fashion. This became particularly marked with the persistence of controls during peace time. One popular reflection of this was in the jokes that circulated about the Control Board, in which the ignorance and lack of imagination of the bureaucrats were pilloried.

A more important source, and one which explains the popular response and the fact that the grievances were not confined to the business section of the community alone, relates to the recent history of the island. The sharp rise in the standard of living and the disappearance of the grosser differences in habits of consumption between the lower classes and the rest of the society were greatly encouraged by the growth of cheap Japanese imports.[a]

The "barefooted man" of radical political agitation was introduced to the regular habit of wearing shoes. Japan supplied the island in 1932 with 37% of the islands' imports (by quantity) of boots, shoes and slippers. This 37% of quantity, however, represented merely 13% of the value. Similarly, the importation of cheap textiles helped to bring about greater uniformity of styles of living.

Hence it was that when trade barriers were erected which prevented or reduced the importation of Japanese goods into the island it was felt by the mass of the people in the island as an attempt to lower their standard of living in the interests of maintaining the markets of the "Mother Country".

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[a] The figures for the imports of boots and shoes over the period 1929-38 into the island from various countries are conveniently summarised in J. P. Mayer's "Britain's Colonies in World Trade", Oxford University Press, 1948. Table XIII (b), p. 57.

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TABLE 2. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TRINIDAD TRADE (9)

TOTAL IMPORTS	1939 %	1949 %	1950 %
United Kingdom	35.79	37.27	40.37
United States	25.49	15.85	8.17
Canada	14.50	12.00	8.49
Venezuela	3.31	13.91	20.58
Colombia	3.44	8.53	4.04
British West Indies	0.63	0.81	0.80
British Guiana	1.05	1.41	1.41
Other Commonwealth Countries	6.65	5.58	7.58
Other Countries	9.54	4.64	8.56
VALUE $ m	34.76	154.21	169.23
TOTAL EXPORTS	**1939 %**	**1949 %**	**1950 %**
United Kingdom	55.5	36.2	30.5
United States	4.8	6.3	8.7
Canada	9.8	13.6	13.6
Brazil	0.6	10.5	15.2
British West Indies	8.6	4.3	4.8
British Guiana	1.2	1.1	1.7
Other Commonwealth Countries	2.6	4.2	4.4
Fr. West Indies	1.3	1.1	0.9
Netherlands West Indies	9.2	5.0	4.9
Other Countries	6.6	17.7	15.3
Value of Exports $ m	28.01	117.42	150.32
Ships Stores and Bunkers	9.35	20.98	27.27
Value of Total Exports	37.36	138.40	177.59

Some indication of the general position of the island with regard to imports and exports can be gauged from accompanying Table 2 showing the geographical distribution of the colony's trade. Anxiety has always been shown about the ability of the country to balance its trade, but unlike other areas where the sterling balances held in London are a problem, the anxiety has been about reaching a sufficiently high level of exports to meet imports.

METROPOLITAN DOMINANCE AND THE BANKS

The economic situation of the island is reflected in the position of the banks. All the banks operating in the island, with a few minor exceptions, are overseas banks. These are Barclay's Bank (D.C. & O.), the Royal Bank of Canada, and the Canadian Bank of Commerce. The operation of the banks has never been the subject of any particular study, but their main function seems to have been concerned with the financing of the external trade of the colony and they are, therefore, closely linked with the commercial interests. They have, so far, taken no very active part in the financing of agriculture or industry.

Consequently, in the creation of credit for the small producer who is only indirectly linked with the external market, the Govern-

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ment and the sugar companies have had to step in and supply credit by means of the Agricultural Bank and Agricultural Credit Societies. Organized Government schemes of subsidy and loan have also helped in this respect, in particular with regard to cocoa, which was more of a peasant crop, and was most hard hit and in need of rehabilitation.

The dominance of the overseas banks in the commercial life of the colony is clear. The only local banks in existence are Gordon Grant & Co., the Co-operative Savings Bank, and the Government Savings Bank. The first of these is a commercial bank which operates on a small scale. The second is a venture which invests heavily in mortgages of houses and land, more particularly within Port of Spain, where its sole office operates. The Government Savings Bank provides many of the facilities which would normally be provided by branch banks in the United Kingdom, and compensates for the restricted branch activity of the commercial banks. These commercial banks are heavily concentrated in Port of Spain and San Fernando. The only bank to have two branches in Port of Spain is Barclay's Bank.[a] One consequence of the failure to develop banking services is the relative absence of current accounts even among people who in the United Kingdom would almost certainly possess such accounts.

As if symbolic of the situation in which they find themselves, the banks are almost exclusively staffed by Europeans or persons who might appear to be Europeans. In this connection it is interesting to note the arguments frequently advanced among coloured people in the colony that such a situation would necessarily change once coloured persons were successful in business, and, therefore, could advance a moral claim for employment on the basis of their patronage.

The "white" employment policy of the banks is frequently criticized in private, but this feeling that there is no moral claim as long as the bulk of their major clients are white has prevented any public assault upon their position. Thus, there have been public demonstrations and protests against the Venezuelan authorities for limiting West Indian immigration into their country, based, it was alleged, on colour discrimination, but the existence of similar discrimination in the banks has passed unnoticed.

Another contributing factor to the relative immunity of the banks from public criticism is that precisely because of their lack of any wealth or serious commercial interests banking has become a mystery

[a] Recently (1953) a branch bank was opened in Tunapuna, which is destined to become a new municipality.

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to many local people, including the coloured middle-class, the majority of whom do not possess current accounts. Entry into employment in the banks would involve for members of this group their being inducted as a special measure and is not something which the coloured individual can demand as of right. In view of the relations which exists between the coloured and white groups such special measures are hardly to be expected. The situation is not envisaged as a psychologically congenial one to any of the coloured population, except those near-whites who feel close enough to the white group to think that their incorporation would be relatively easy and would be part of a general incorporation into the social life of the white community as a whole.

The failure of the banks to discriminate in those territories where the white population is small and caste lines less firmly drawn (Grenada and British Honduras) and where some coloured persons are close to the top of the social scale would indicate that although the banks are controlled externally the policies of discrimination are not inspired from abroad, but merely reflect the social class structure of the colony as a whole.[a] It has been authoritatively stated, for the British bank at least, that any such discriminatory practice must spring from local initiative and not from any explicit directives from above.

CURRENCY PROBLEM

The role of the banks is intimately linked with another problem —that of currency control. The currency now in circulation is the British West Indian dollar, which is worth four shillings and two pence. Every one of these local currency notes has to be backed in London at this rate by an equivalent amount in sterling—in cash or in gilt-edged securities. The allegation has often been made that this has made impossible any of those manoeuvres which are customarily made by a Central Bank, and therefore acts as a hindrance to the development of the economic life of the colony. Thus in an article in the "Sunday Guardian", "Observer", an anonymous columnist, argued that 100% backing of the local currency was entirely unnecessary and worked economic hardship on the colony in that a certain amount of capital that would be used for the development of the colony is necessarily tied up "uselessly".

The suggestion has also been made that one consequence of this is a lack of elasticity in the local currency situation, and in local credit facilities. In default of any investigation into the working

[a] It is interesting to note that the discriminatory practices have been breached in Jamaica, and not in Trinidad, where racial tensions are more acute.

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of the system only general criticisms of the position can be made.[a] The position of the island as regards currency undoubtedly reflects the metropolitan dominance of the country's economy. But precisely because the currency situation reflects the real economic position of the community, it will be impossible to make any real improvement by merely tinkering with it.[b]

In effect the commercial banks function merely as Branch Banks would in the United Kingdom except that they are forced to convert sterling into a local currency. This would appear to be a purely formal arrangement and the present system has had the advantage of ensuring a stable currency in an island and an area where economic conditions have been chronically unsound. The fact that the commercial banks operate in effect as Branch Banks of a United Kingdom bank also means that the bogey involved of shortage of currency for local purposes is shown, in the financing of the activities of foreign firms at least, to be very much of a bogey indeed.

In terms of the island only specific investigation of the policy of the banks and the credit practices of the local population and businessmen can throw light on what effect the failure to provide credit facilities for the peasant has produced. The position appears to be an interesting one.

It should be observed that criticism of the currency situation is not a "popular' issue at all, but occasionally it arises among the better-informed students of economics, of whom there are very few in the island. None the less, it is of interest in view of the fact, observed above, that some Trinidadians feel that they should be able to buy and sell where they like. It is clear that what they really envisage is a continuance of a currency based on sterling, but in which there would be a greater allocation of dollars to the island. At least, no feasible alternative has been advanced, or, one suspects, thought of.

METROPOLITAN DOMINANCE AND EMPLOYMENT

It would be expected that, precisely in the sphere of adaptation, the greatest stress would be laid on intrinsic factors of merit and worth rather than on factors such as racial and class affiliation. Or, to use the terminology of the theory of action, that the values of universalism and achievement would be paramount in this sphere. In reality this has been so only to a certain limited extent. The metropolitan dominance of the economy resulted in a pattern

[a] The following account is based on the opinion of W. T. Newlyn, Lecturer in Economics in the University of Leeds, in "The Colonial Empire", Chapter 13 of R. S. Sayers (Ed.) "Banking in the British Commonwealth"

[b] See the experience of Ceylon, H. A. de S. Gunasekera (12).

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throughout the island of the importation of European technicians and senior administrative staff.

This may have been a reflection of the cheapest and most economical means of meeting the situation. In a society where technicians of any kind possessed limited experience and where engineers had to be sent abroad to be trained, it could only be expected that technicians, engineers and senior administrative staff would have to be brought in from outside. Further, the management had to enjoy the confidence of the foreign investor, who, within the field of his knowledge, would naturally opt for the technician from home. Moreover, in the case of the oil industry at any rate, the international scale of its operations meant that it recruited its staff internationally, or at least from a group who frequently viewed the prospects of promotion in their profession in international terms.

None the less, there can be no doubt that there was a tendency for attitudes to harden in the direction of freezing forever a situation which was temporarily inevitable and of extending the principle of racial exclusiveness even further than was called for. Thus, it was not merely that there were no local people who could hold certain positions, but that such positions came to be labelled specifically as "European" jobs. In the case of the banks the racial exclusiveness led to the exclusion of coloured persons from all grades or work, including typing. In the case of the oilfields, there was the division between the senior staff and the junior staff, which froze into an exclusive racial division, now happily broken. Moreover, the division did not take place in purely occupational terms, for in order to give adequate conditions of service to the overseas staff, special housing facilities had to be provided, as well as special recreational and hospital facilities. The social life of the white community tended, therefore, to develop into an exclusive hierarchy.

From the purely economic point of view the alternative to this recruitment of the greater proportion of its senior staff from abroad, lay in making special facilities available for the training of local people. Whatever there were of sentimental ties (or ideological beliefs) which swayed the decision in favour of the alternative of importing, have tended to be reversed by a colonial nationalism which resents the existence of a racially exclusive policy on the part of the overseas company. The new policy of training local people for the job would seem to be a result of the new nationalist demands, as well as an accommodation to the conditions of full employment in the United Kingdom, which made the recruitment of overseas staff more difficult. Thus in 1951 advertisements for teachers in a secondary school in the oilfields offered salaries considerably less than

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those which were being offered by the Government Secondary School in Port of Spain, which was at the time experiencing considerable difficulty in recruiting teaching staff in the United Kingdom.

Consequently, many of the oilfields have, within the last few years, developed training schemes which provide both for the training of local people on the job, and for scholarships to study science at the University College of the West Indies and for the study of petroleum technology and allied subjects in the United Kingdom. At the same time the Government is providing a Technical School in close proximity to the oilfields area which will allow of the special training of people on the junior levels in the oilfields.[a]

The formalization of the racial division in terms of Senior Staff and Junior Staff, was one reason for the fact that racial discrimination in the oilfields provoked more public resentment than in any other field of industry. Further, the wage rates paid by the oil companies were substantially higher than in the case of the sugar industry and therefore attracted a substantial number of lower-middle class men to whom the racial barriers were particularly obnoxious since they indicated that they could go thus far and no further.

The integration of the coloured community into concerns which have practised colour and shade discrimination is not an easy one. We have seen in the case of the banks that a lack of familiarity with the intricacies of banking has inhibited the development of any demand for equal facilities for employment regardless of racial factors.

In the case of the oilfields and the Government service the existence of many lower-grade clerical and administrative jobs which local people felt they could perform adequately led to stronger resentment in these fields against discriminatory treatment.

There has never been any political pressure for the passing of a law to ensure the elimination of racial discrimination in employment. This was partly because overt forms of harsh discrimination have been absent from the island. But, above all, it sprang from the sentiment widely felt among the people that the owner of property had a right to do whatever he liked with his own. The failure to advance any form of legal control as a solution did not spring from an intellectual awareness of the difficulties of such control as compared to other forms of social control. Rather, it sprang from an intuitive appreciation of the fact that in a small community where industry and employment were everywhere on a limited scale it could be expected that employment facilities would be defined in particularistic terms.

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[a] Work on this Technical School was well under way in 1952.

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Effective implementation of such legislation as that seeking to enforce fair employment practices, as in the United States of America, would meet with considerable difficulty.[a]

The difficulty involved in integrating coloured members into the primary groups in a white society has been the subject of investigation in the United States.[b] There are signs of exactly the same difficulty in personal relations on the part of the coloured Trinidadian. Thus, one trainee under the training scheme felt himself not truly accepted by the English supervisor who preferred to take the advice of another. There are indications that some persons when faced with the problem seek alternative opportunities, while those who remain on in the job show signs of psychological strain.

METROPOLITAN ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES

The political control of the metropolitan country acted as a force additional to the economic and social ones already examined, bringing about the same pattern of "reserved" positions for Europeans.

Within recent years, however, the position has changed quite sharply. At present, of 20 positions considered by a group of educated West Indians to be the highest in the Civil Service in point of dignity and salary, only 13 are held by Europeans. The reasons that this came to pass and the problems involved are discussed more fully in the sections on Political Development and on Social Stratification. Most of the lesser but important positions were held by Trinidadians. This represents a major advance. In 1930 out of 42 "Principal Officials" listed in the "Handbook of the British West Indies" (1929-30) by Sir Algernon Aspinall published by West India Committee, London, only four were coloured Trinidadians, while six more were creole whites. In 1952 twenty-three of these positions were held by coloured Trinidadians, while the number of creole whites remained constant.

METROPOLITAN ORGANIZATION OF TRINIDAD TRADE

As a result of the dependence of the island's economy on the contact with Great Britain, most of the organization of the trade

[a] This is not to affirm that legal methods of control are not effective in determining to some extent attitudes and behaviour. For a good analysis of the effect of legal provisions in the U.S. on racial problems, see Berger Morroe, "Equality by Statute". However, the position in the small Trinidad society is quite different from that existing in more industrialized and urbanized societies.

[b] See Everett C. Hughes: "Where Peoples Meet". For attitudes of Union members towards intimate social relations see Arnold M. Rose, "Union Solidarity" (University of Minnesota, 1950).

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has been through Great Britain. A non-Governmental historical association dating back to the days of slavery, maintains offices in Great Britain for the specific purpose of representing West Indian interests.[a]

Of course, the West India interest now is not what it was in the 18th century, but its representations are, perhaps, for that reason all the more urgent and necessary. Thus, in all negotiations regarding the position and price of sugar, the West India Committee takes an active interest and joins where necessary with the political representatives of the colony in delegations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The fact that a non-Governmental organisation, like the West India Committee, could represent West Indian interests in matters which touched not only economic, but political and moral issues as well, is an indication of the important role British interests played in the West Indies.

With the granting of self-government in the area it has been felt that the lack of any formal organization to represent West Indian interests is a serious drawback. It has, therefore, been agreed by the West Indian islands, including Trinidad, that a Trade Commissioner with a suitable advisory and clerical staff should be appointed in the United Kingdom. However, up to June, 1953, although the plan had been approved, no appointment had been made owing to failure to find a candidate both suitable and acceptable.

The fact that the bulk of Trinidad's financing and organization takes place through United Kingdom firms has important consequences for the island. There is a consequent dearth of business experience in the community and such experience as there is is confined to commercial transactions. The commercial agent who represents foreign firms, the retailers of imported goods, and the dealers in local produce for export—these are the people who are the backbone of the business community. The lack of industrial experience leads to very slight efforts by the commercial community to expand productive effort into new fields. The lack of industrial experience means that even when programmes for industrialization are developed the initiative and impulse for the establishment of industry, and not merely for its finance, has to come from outside the island.

The main commercial group is also situated in the towns, while the main industries of the area—sugar and oil—are not. This accentuates the dominance of commerce in the business life of the community. The average Trinidadian when he thinks of going into

[a] For a brief description of the West India Committee and its work see K. Stahl: 'The Metropolitan Organization of British Colonial Trade" (Faber 1951). The Committee is incorporated by Royal Charter (1904), but was established prior to 1750.

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business thinks almost exclusively of commercial undertakings. This explains in part why whenever groups get together to establish co-operatives they tend to think in terms of establishing Consumers' Co-operative Societies. The Government Co-operative Department, consequently, has a difficult time persuading the leaders of such groups of the pitfalls and hazards which surround the establishment of the consumers' co-operative.

DEPENDENCE UPON AGRICULTURE

The fact that the country was dependent to such an extent upon agriculture was until recently taken as implying that this was destined to be its permanent condition and even more that the existing crops were the best that could be developed. The theory of comparative advantage was well entrenched and as late as 1948 the agricultural sub-committee of the Economic Committee reported:-

"Trinidad, like all other British West Indian Islands, has developed on an exchange economy whereby each island concentrates on the production of those commodities for which it is best suited and uses the proceeds of these exports to pay for imports from other parts of the world, which similarly enjoyed specially favoured conditions for the production of other commodities. The advantages of this exchange economy are obvious but often overlooked. Taking the world as a whole if offers the prospect of the highest productivity and thereby the highest standard of living."

The alternative policy was seen by this sub-committee, after its panegyric on specialization due to comparative advantage, as one of aiming unrealistically at bringing about the self-sufficiency of the colony. "No country", it declared, "certainly no small West Indian island could produce all the many types of food stuffs, the clothing . . . etc. which the population desires." (31, p. 75).

The agricultural policy that was envisaged revolved really around a concern for the development of export crops until the period of the second World War and the continued dollar shortage gave cause for extreme concern. This preoccupation with export crops showed itself in a lack of concern for the development of local food production. Thus although there are adequate statistics on the import and export of foodstuffs when the Economic Committee came to examine the matter they found that there were no accurate estimates of the amount of local food production [a] Relying on estimates made

[a] Report of Economic Committee: "The fact is that the colony has always produced a substantial proportion of its food requirements but records are not available of the acreages and output." p. 120.

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by the Department of Agriculture it estimated that local food production was roughly 50% of the imported foodstuffs.

The reliance upon imported foodstuffs had important psychological consequences. At one time it combined with the negative self-evaluation of the community to produce, in the urban areas at least, a prejudice against local foodstuffs. The more ludicrous aspects of this have frequently been pointed out (54). Thus there was a prejudice inherited from the days of slavery in favour of salted fish as opposed to fresh fish, and corned beef was considered by some a delicacy more highly valued than fresh meat. The lovely breadfruit, identified by some as "slave food", tended to be despised as a food of the poor and the destitute, until food shortages during World War II made it a highly valued commercial crop. This preference for the imported and the processed commodity rather than the natural one achieved its most ludicrous expression when during World War II a weekly newspaper reported that owing to the shortage of condensed milk in the colony the people were being forced to use cow's milk as a substitute.

However, with the developing sense of nationalism such prejudices as existed against things local in favour of the imported items tend to disappear. The lower class of the countryside has never been affected as deeply as the people of the town by these prejudices and their preference for the locally grown "ground provisions" still persists. Now the people of the town, too, clamour strongly for the local product. Thus, parallel with the purchase of the locally made shirts rather than the imported ones, they have developed a passion for the locally produced beer; and one hears still, mixed with the hankering for expensive whisky as a mark of proper upper class taste, the occasional extolling of the virtues of rum as "the national drink of the West Indies". Sentiments have, indeed, changed so much that the Carib beer in its advertisement directed itself particularly to local sentiment ("Every Carib drink a Carib") and was so successful that it threatened to drive foreign brands off the market.

The failure of an internal market of any dimensions to develop has made people more or less insensitive to the need for paying attention to such factors as grading, packaging, and uniformity of standards; and where attempts have been made to impose such standards they have gone against the grain of the local producer. The necessity for such standards, while appreciated by those directly concerned with the marketing of their goods abroad, has not seeped down to the mass of the people. Hence even in crops for export we find the addition of grit to copra in order to make up weight, by the peasant; and in cocoa inefficient methods of curing for the same purpose.

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Concern with local production previous to the war was shown only by one of the local newspapers, which daily reported whether various items on sale at the Port of Spain public market were scarce or plentiful, cheap or dear. The persisting crisis can be expected to increase still further the concern with food production, and the force of external circumstances is likely to achieve changes in food habits which would be otherwise resistant to influence by direct propaganda.

The main crops produced for local consumption are rice,[a] yams of various types, plantains, cassava, peas and beans. The estimated production of poultry and eggs is small and hindered by the inadequacy of locally produced feeding stuffs, while the imported chickens and foodstuffs from the United States increase the cost of production and are not always available. Although the concern with the more technical and advanced methods of poultry-raising is marked among the more educated, there is much yet to be done among the peasants and the labouring class of the countryside.

The agitation in favour of increased production of foodstuffs faces the same problem that confronts all social and educational work in the island—the problem of adequate communication between an urbanized middle class and administration and an illiterate peasantry. The problem, difficult in itself, is not eased by the fact that little research into education, sociology, psychology or appropriate educational techniques for the area has ever been systematically made.

The problem of adjustment of local taste has taken shape in two other important spheres. Previously copra was exported from the island, but under the conditions of war, and with the post-war world shortage of fats and oils, the export of copra was forbidden.. This gave a fillip to the local production of edible oil, lard, and margarine within the island. Heretofore the use of coconut oil had been confined to the East Indian community and that section of the rural community who lived in coconut areas. The somewhat acrid smell of the unrefined coconut oil precluded its general use. Except as an oil for the hair or as a protection against sandflies when at the seaside, it did not come within the purview of the man in the town. Previous to World War II the favourite oil for cooking purposes was olive oil, known locally as "sweet oil", imported from Europe. Imported lard was also widely used. However, with the war there came a sharp reversal in consumption since the general public had to rely almost exclusively on the locally produced and refined coconut oil. Subsequently, in the post-war period the price of olive oil remained so

[a] For an Account of the Rice Industry see Council Paper No. 2 of 1950.

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high that the general use of the local product continued. On every shop shelf in the colony can be seen a few bottles of olive oil, but they are only purchased on special occasions. People still look back to the days when "the good sweet oil" was available, but have reconciled themselves to the local product. The war also served to create a market for the Trinidad product in the neighbouring islands. The other field in which the war brought about a change was timber. No serious concern was ever given to the production of locally grown timber. Furniture more adapted to tropical conditions resulted in the use of local woods in its manufacture. But still timber for general use in construction continued to be imported largely from Canada. Here again the shortages produced by the war, coupled with the huge increase in population caused by migrants in search of work, forced local timber on the consumer. The use of it has continued, particularly in the rural areas. The building up of forests that will have commercial value is now one of the major concerns of the Forestry Department and plantations of teak have been laid down. Some idea of the increase in local consumption can be gauged from the fact that the amount of logs cut from local forests increased from 684,000 cubic feet in 1938 to 3,328,215 cubic feet in 1950. (9, p. 204). There were sixty-two small sawmills in the colony in 1951.

SECONDARY INDUSTRY

In the past the development of secondary industries had never been a major concern of the Government. Certainly little active policy designed to encourage their development appeared. None the less a certain number of local industries actually developed, some making use of local raw materials, but the majority relying in part at least on imported raw materials. Thus, matches, cigarettes, aerated drinks, canning of citrus fruits, and the making of vegetable oil, are among the manufactures of the island. Manufacturing industry supplied a great deal of employment according to the Census of 1946.

The interest in "secondary" industry on the part of the local radicals was linked to a belief that discriminatory practices against local producers made any possibility of success at local industrialization unlikely. This was in part produced by the "buy British" campaigns of the 1920's and the existence of Imperial Preference and the quota system on certain foreign goods. These encouraged the idea that the colonies were intended to be purely sources of raw materials and "markets" for British industry. The demand was frequently made for chocolate and sugar to be produced locally. The fact that the production of refined sugar—unrefined sugar is of course made in

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the island—has not proved to be specially profitable in Jamaica has not yet reached radical circles in Trinidad. Hence, the demand is still sometimes made. The belief in the possibilities of chocolate manufacture still persists. The statement for instance that the types of cocoa grown in Trinidad are especially good for flavouring and could not be used economically for the production of chocolate tends to be dismissed as propaganda on the behalf of the vested interests. These and other economic aspects of the location of industry are ignored or not examined. This is understandable. In the first place, the professional economists in the island are recent importations, so that experience of economic affairs and ability to think on economic matters have been the preserve of the business man, and his thinking has relied on his empirical evidence. Distrust of people who are interested economically and therefore likely to be biased would seem to be normal and indeed universal. In the second place, one of the main sources of this belief was criticism originating in Great Britain from the Labour and Socialist opposition. Thus, magazines like "*Empire*" and radical speakers interested in colonial affairs could make the point that the price of sugar to the Englishman was cheaper than the price to the West Indian who produced it. Such statements were seized upon by the local radical as additional proof of the country's exploitation in the interest of the Imperialists.

Ideas and attitudes, however, have been considerably modified in recent years. The failure of a Government whose main concern was with the maintenance of law and order, and whose main object appeared to be "to do nothing and keep going", to meet even this minimum requirement, led to a greater concern with local problems and to a commitment to the welfare state. This concern has shown itself in the attempt to encourage the development of local industry as well as to increase the productivity of agriculture. As a consequence, the Pioneer Industry legislation was passed seeking to attract foreign capital into the island. Under this legislation any industry designated a Pioneer Industry was eligible for exemption from tax for a period of years and was also allowed to import its raw materials free of customs duty. The tax exemption that was allowed, however, was purely psychological in that the overseas firm operating in Trinidad and registered abroad was still liable to tax in the United Kingdom or the United States. For such exemption of tax to become really operative as an economic inducement, policy in this direction would have to originate with the United Kingdom government. None the less the programme has met with some success, according to the latest reports available.

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By the end of June, 1951, a number of industries had been declared pioneer industries. Among these were glass-making, brewing, time-recording machines, stapled boxes, cardboard boxes, processing of torchons, spinning and weaving of textiles, knitting of textiles, stock feeds, moulded industrial, rubber and plastic goods. (9, p. 207). Later artificial teeth and others were added to this list. The colony already possessed factories for the making of sugar, edible oil, lard, margarine, the canning of fruit juices, rum distilleries, breweries, plants producing aerated water, matches, bricks and tiles, cigarettes, concrete products, laundry soap, saw mills, etc. Consequently, there was a fund of skilled labour upon which the new industries could draw. Manufacture, according to the Economic Survey, employed 9,000 persons.

An indication of the widespread interest in industrialization can be gauged from the sales of Professor W. A. Lewis' booklet "Industrialization of the West Indies". Besides being printed as articles in the Caribbean Economic Review, it has had several editions in the pamphlet form; also in political debates it is a much quoted document. The problems facing the colony in introducing new industries were shown when legislation giving special terms to the cement industry was passed. The Minister for Industry and Commerce said in the Legislative Council that the disadvantages had to be weighed against the advantages. Among the disadvantages were the loss of $30,000 in customs duty and $90,000 from port services as there would be a prohibition of the import of cement and the company concerned was to be given a ten-year tax holiday. These concessions were necessary because of the high capital cost of such a venture. To offset these disadvantages were the fact that the colony would have a cement plant and would be assured of a supply of cement in time of war, while employment would be provided for between 240 and 300 men.[b]

There are no accurate figures on the extent of the foreign financing of local undertakings, nor has any special investigation been conducted. Some idea of the external dominance of the economy can be gauged by the figures available (Table 3). It was reported that:-

"At the end of 1948 there were on the Register of Companies:-

(a) 488 companies incorporated in the colony with an aggregate authorized capital of $126,302,536.

(b) 193 companies incorporated abroad with places of business in the Colony."

Although there is a considerable number of small retail businesses

[b] Hansard, 16th November, 1951.

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TABLE 3. COMPANIES INCORPORATED IN THE COLONY

Class	No. of Companies	Nominal Capital $	Subscribed Capital $
Plantations	33	13,280,000	7,206,475
Hardware	20	10,434,990	5,675,119
Oil	19	10,674,800	6,821,214
Dry Goods	17	3,812,280	2,331,254
Transport	16	1,860,000	346,980
Grocers	13	4,140,000	1,833,722
Investment	10	8,090,000	2,258,500
Drugs	9	865,000	293,378
Hotels and Restaurants	8	872,000	488,885
Telephones	1	6,000,000	2,650,000
Miscellaneous	342	66,273,466	Not available
Total	488	126,302,536	

which operate under the names of their proprietors and are not incorporated as companies or even registered under the registration of Business Names Ordinance, the figures on the Register of Companies probably give an accurate account of the bulk of the economic activity of business firms directed in the colony. It should further be noted that many of these local companies are financed from abroad and registered locally. Comparable figures of investment of overseas companies in the island are not available, but the figures of the few companies which are known give some indication of the extent of outside control of the economic life. Thus of the 193 companies operated from abroad, ten oil companies had an authorized capital of £10,950,000 and a subscribed capital of £8,903,091. Three sugar companies registered abroad had an authorized capital of £1,945,000 and a subscribed capital of £1,894,585. Thirteen of the 193 companies registered abroad therefore have a nominal capital half that of the companies locally registered. If we assume that the proportion of nominal to subscribed capital is the same for the "miscellaneous" group of companies locally registered as for those for which figures are available,[a] the proportion of subscribed capital of these thirteen companies to that of the locally registered companies is much higher—80: 100.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

From the time of its conquest Trinidad was ruled as a Crown Colony. In 1880 a Legislative Council was introduced into the island but this was wholly nominated. A limited amount of popular participation, however, existed in the municipalities of Port of Spain and San Fernando. The elective system was not introduced into Trinidad until 1925, and then only on a very restricted suffrage. During the period of the inter-war years there were other minor advances as the

[a] The proportion is likely indeed to be much lower.

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official members in the legislature declined and the elected members increased in number. No decisive changes in the constitution came until the 1940's after the Second World War. These changes had been long in the making. Following the strikes and disturbances in Trinidad in 1937, a commission of investigation was appointed to enquire into the purely local trouble. The subsequent spread of the disturbances to the whole Caribbean area, led to the appointment of a Royal Commission (the Moyne Commission) which reported on the area as a whole. This Commission recommended the appointment in each island of a committee which would investigate the question of the extension of the franchise.

Following the report of the locally constituted franchise committee, adult suffrage was introduced into the island for the first time in 1946. The agitation for a more democratic constitution continued, and in 1950 amendments were introduced by which the number of nominated members was decreased and the number of elected members substantially increased. More important than this, was the institution of a new Ministerial System whereby members effectively responsible for the running of departments were appointed by the Governor to ministerial positions. At the same time the number of elected members in the Executive Council was increased; but the Attorney General, the Financial Secretary and the Colonial Secretary still remained in the Legislative and Executive Councils. Thus the process of political evolution was from one of complete autocracy through a semi-representative system to what is now a semi-responsible system of government. In this process of transition the society has become more or less committed to the complete institution of a democratic political regime. Moreover the concern with the general welfare of the inhabitants which was in part a responsibility of the government under the Crown Colony system has become transformed into a programme of instituting a democratic welfare state in the community.

It is in the light of these political changes that we must view the account of the system of social stratification which follows.

PART II

THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN TRINIDAD

In order to understand the structure of the island as a whole it is necessary to pay special attention to the system of social stratification. This is a more complex problem than appears at first sight, because there are various systems of stratification within the society. Some of these are systems of stratification of particular

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communities within the island, but others are generally accepted for the island, although they do not necessarily coincide with the stratifications of any other particular community. The divergence of class judgements as between communities has not received the attention that it deserves. In the past most field-work studies have been related to the social stratification of one particular community and have generalized from the local evaluations about the system of social stratification in the national society. Of particular significance in this respect is the work of the Warner group[a] and other work which it has inspired. In the Introduction to "Democracy in Jonesville". Warner writes: "The life of the community reflects and symbolizes the significant principles on which the American social system rests .... we can say that Jonesville is in all Americans and all Americans are in Jonesville, for he that dwelleth in America dwelleth in Jonesville and Jonesville in him" (p. 15) and "By such a study (of Jonesville) we could see and understand the larger design of American life".

Even when Lloyd Warner is dealing not with the specific local community but with the whole of the American scene, he makes similar assertions. Thus in his "Structure of American Life" he writes "In my research the local community was made to serve as a microcosmic whole representing the total community" (48, p. 33), and "careful examination of the evidence elicited from local studies when related to what is known about our economic life, gives great insight and social knowledge about the processes of work throughout the system".

However, other sociologists have become increasingly concerned with the divergence between the national stratification and the various systems of stratification in the local community, and the way they are all articulated into a coherent system. The late Paul K. Hatt was one such sociologist. More recently Charles Wagley and his group (46) in their studies of "Race and Class in Rural Brazil"[b] have clearly recognized the difference posed by the national and local systems of stratification.

While it is true that the social structure of any small community within the larger national society, reflects in some degree the structure of the larger society, this method of looking at social stratification tends to ignore the problem of the integration of communities,

[a] Lloyd Warner
(i) Yankee City Series
(ii) Democracy in Jonesville
Gardner and Davis
(iii) Deep South
A. B. Hollingshead
(iv) Elmtown's Youth
John Dollard
(v) Caste and Class in a Southern Town

[b] See, in particular, the section "From Caste to Class in North Brazil" page 142, et. seq.

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of the fact that in terms of the national society all communities do not rank as equal. The problem is not solved by selecting a typical community for study because the very fact of typicality tends to ignore the most important problem of all, that is, the stratification between communities and the way in which it becomes linked up into a nation-wide system of stratification. In this linkage the dominance of certain metropolitan and political areas (the political capital) appears to be of crucial importance although in terms of typicality these areas would have to be ignored.

In the island society of Trinidad there appears the same phenomenon of the ranking of districts, localities and communities. Port of Spain, the capital city, would immediately be placed first. Even the inhabitants of the second largest town, San Fernando, often speak of going to Port of Spain as going to "town", thus giving themselves inferior "country" status. In terms of the smaller places like Blanchisseuse, we shall see that although Blanchisseuse has subordinates, its place in rank order of importance from the stratification point of view would be low down on the list.

The hypothetical ranking of communities in Trinidad is as follows:—

1. Port of Spain
2. San Fernando
3. St. Augustine
4. Arima
5. Sangre Grande
6. Blanchisseuse
7. Brasso Seco.

We can be sure that the gaps between these are not equidistant and the ordering most generally shared by the population could be represented not unfairly in the accompanying diagram (Fig. 1).

Here, as in the phenomenon of ranking individuals and classifying them according to some scale of superiority and inferiority, there is room for divergence of opinion. Local patriotism, limitations of contact, ignorance, divergence in the scale of values upon which the judgements are based—all these may lead to some diversity of outlook. In terms of the island society of Trinidad this divergence is not great. This is probably due to the small size of the island, and the fact that there are few difficulties in communication. This has led to nearly all communities accepting the dominance of Port of Spain. However, even here, there is a challenge from San Fernando. Arising from the fact that these two major communities dominate several minor ones there is a tendency to divide the island into two sections—North and South—between which there is a certain amount of rivalry. This is reflected in the institutionalization of North-South competitions in athletics, football and cricket. This is merely a minor reflection of a division in the social structure which could

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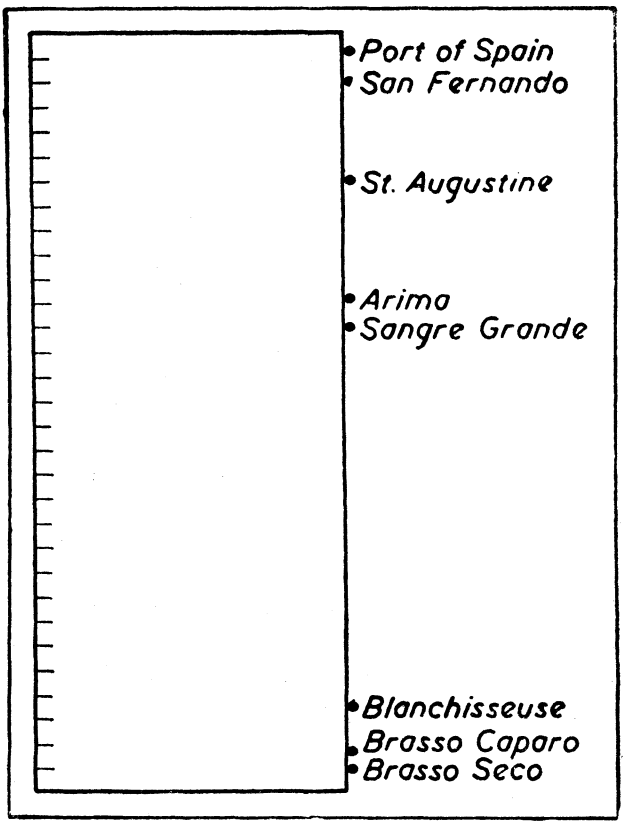

Fig. 1 Ranking of communities in Trinidad

possibly have greater significance. This is shown in the political field in the sharp divergence between the support obtained by the radical political leader Uriah Butler, and the marches and demonstrations that he was able to organize from the South into the North.

In this connection the single, most important thing is that no matter what divergences of judgement there are people must accept in some form or fashion the national stratification system, primarily through the acceptance of the upper class and the symbolism associated with it. The manner in which the separate individuals and groups may come to accept the nation-wide stratification system, may either be direct or indirect. That is, the individual may either himself accept the upper class as an upper class, or he may merely, in terms of a smaller community, of a partial segment of the society, accept the superiority of another social group which is itself thoroughly imbued with the values which make for the acceptance of the national upper class. This linkage may be many chains removed and varies in strength.

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In terms of Trinidad society this acceptance of a common upper-class and its symbolism is made more complicated by the fact that a large proportion of the upper class of Trinidad society is not Trinidad-born and does not have its roots in Trinidad life. Many of these individuals are oriented to a social system other than the island society. If all the "Britishers" were concentrated in one region, Port of Spain, the problem of linkage of communities would not be so difficult. The fact, however, that there are relatively self-contained groups of Britishers in St. Augustine, Pointe a Pierre, and Port of Spain, makes the acceptance, directly or indirectly, of the values of this external or super-ordinate social system a matter of cardinal concern. Again, the close interlinking of the political and social class system which results from the fact that the island society is a colony, and part of the larger structure of the British Empire, makes the acceptance of the superiority of the super-ordinate system by all the members of the society of increased importance. In other words, although we are concerned with the analysis of the social structure of Trinidad and not with that of the British Empire as a whole, we have to take account of the way in which the British social system and its representatives impinge upon the social stratification system. The relationship between the communities can perhaps be illustrated by a diagram (Fig. 2).

We are not dealing here with the social structure of the British Empire, the way in which the British social system links up the diverse communities within the Empire and Commonwealth. However, in so far as the manner in which the linkage between the British social system and the island society is characteristic, it should throw revealing light on that problem. Similarly, the study of the social structure on the village level of Blanchisseuse is not merely a study of the social structure of the village, but also of a characteristic form of linkage by which subordinate communities become integrated into the larger society.[a]

If the ranking of communities in Trinidad was a clear-cut one which served as an absolute guide to status, so that a person of middle class status, say in the village of Blanchisseuse, automatically assumed a similar status on moving into Port of Spain, Arima or San Fernando, the problem of the relationship of social stratification on

[a] From a theoretical point of view the similarity of the problems would appear in a different light on different levels. It is also clear that the discrepancies of judgement between the subordinate members of the Colonial Empire with regard to their relative importance will be quite great, and the need for insulating mechanisms which keep the relationship with the British social system paramount as compared with a spontaneous ordering of relationships between communities, becomes of paramount importance.

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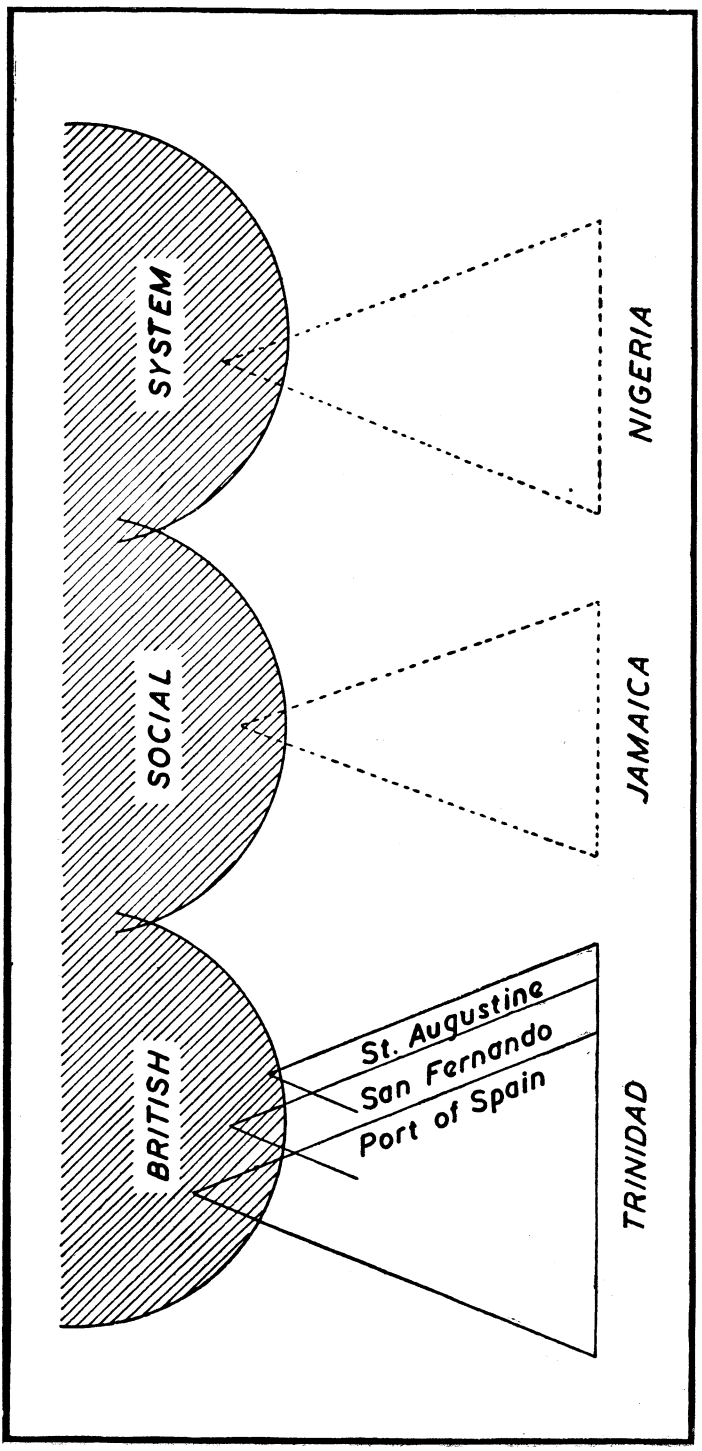

Fig. 2 Linkage of Trinidad and its communities with the British social system

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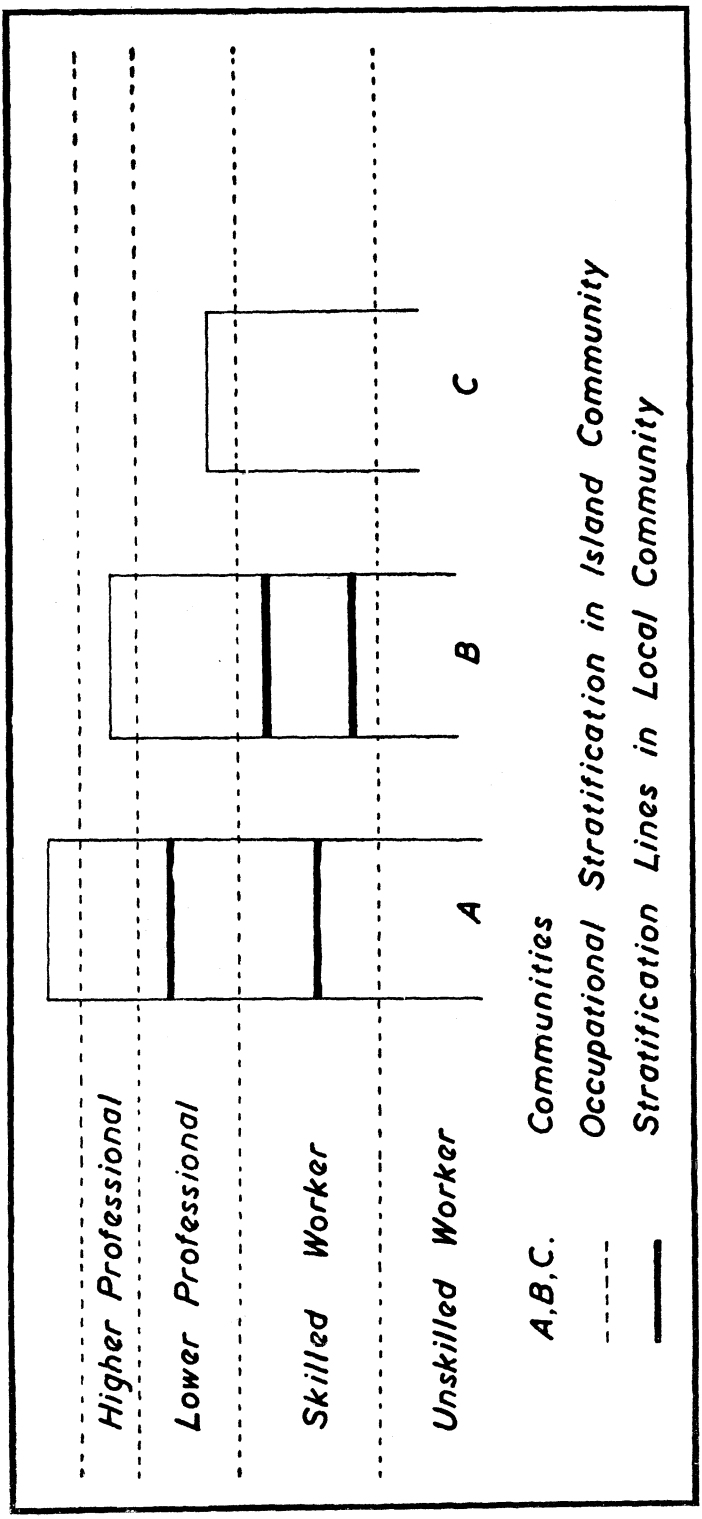

Fig. 3 Stratification and communities in Trinidad

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the national level to the social stratification of communities, would be easy. The function of the ranking of communities, however, appears to be a most general one and serves to place individuals within a broad context before other qualifying features are examined. Thus the solicitor practising in the town of Tunapuna, or the doctor practising in the small town or village of Siparia may, in terms of the local community, be of the upper social class. Moving into Port of Spain his position becomes somewhat lower in the scale of stratification, according to his professional skill, skin colour, and the other determinants of social class within the Port of Spain community. In terms of the island-wide stratification a doctor will possess relatively high status everywhere; a solicitor less, and an accountant less still. In Fig 3 community A in the ranking of communities holds an inferior position relative to community B; none the less a certain stratification is island-wide in its scope and brings in general terms roughly equivalent status. Thus, a skilled worker will rank lower in the order of social class in any community in Trinidad to any doctor, but the doctor starting in community B at the top of the social scale is liable to find himself in terms of the society of Port of Spain on a somewhat lower level. Again, the labourer or lower class person will find himself at the bottom of the stratification scale in any community.

Conversely, the movement out of community B may have the opposite results. Thus, a doctor in the upper class of community B will certainly enjoy upper class status in Community A, but a doctor in the middle-class of community B is also sure of enjoying upper class status in community A. Further, the smaller communities frequently do not possess a large enough population for such a rich differentiation of social classes as in Port of Spain. It has been commonly observed in studies of social class that the members of the upper class are not aware of the differentiations which members of the lower class make among themselves, and which the middle-class, likewise, make of the lower class. Similarly, the members of the lower classes tend to group all those above them at a certain remove as members of the "upper class", ignoring the differentiations which others more highly placed make. These phenomena are likewise to be observed in the communities of Trinidad. There also appears to be a difference in communities in this regard. Some communities are large enough for the distinctions to become extremely important because of the distance between the upper and the lower social groups.

On the other hand in the really small community such as the village of Blanchisseuse, its remoteness from the larger communities tends to result in the amalgamation of heterogeneous elements (from

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the standpoint of Port of Spain or San Fernando) into the common category of the upper class.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

The problem of analysing the social stratification in Trinidad becomes more acute when we realize that together with the ranking of communities we have also to consider the ranking of the various ethnic groups in the island.

The existence of a large variety of ethnic groups has led, not to the development of an eclectic cosmopolitanism, but to a certain separateness of the groups and to a ranking of them in terms of superiority and inferiority, as groups. The main reason for this appears to be that these various ethnic groups entered a society which was already stratified very largely on racial lines; and one in which the biological division of skin colour played an important part in the differentiation of social class, even within the broad bounds determined by race. Thus during the 19th century and early in the 20th century we had a social stratification of the island as depicted in Fig. 4. In the upper group, A, there was a differentiation on a social class basis; but, as between the white group, A, and the coloured group, B, the condition resembled much more of a caste situation than one of class. The barriers to rising were almost completely prohibitive and in many respects that situation still obtains. The middle-class consisted predominantly of coloured people, that is of light-skinned and brown-skinned people, while the lower class consisted predominantly of black.

Just as whiteness tended to put the individual automatically at the top of the social class scale, so blackness of skin colour automatically put the individual at the bottom end of the social scale. At the same time there was a limited mobility from the lowest end of the scale from among the blacks and the browns into the middle class. Unlike the barriers between the whites and non-whites the "caste" barrier could be circumvented by marriage. For the most part, the coloured person could only procure a white wife by going outside the society and seeking a mate who did not subscribe to the particularistic scale of values of Trinidad society. Even this did not, however, serve to make possible the crossing of class lines. On the other hand within the middle-class group there was a differentiation based on skin-colour, but there was no impassable barrier as regards marriage between a light-skinned person and a dark-skinned person. The light-skinned person, all other things being equal, was at the top of the middle-class group, B, but there was also a substantial portion of

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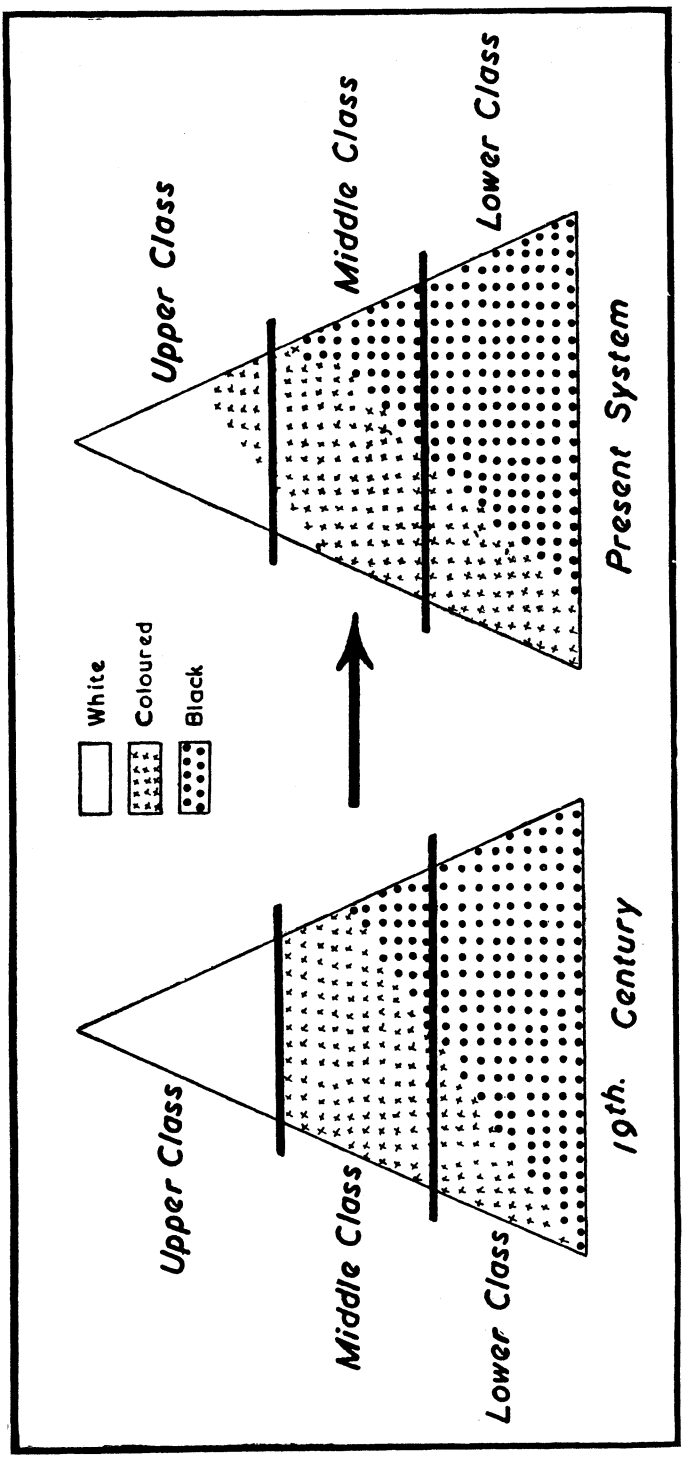

Fig. 4 Stratification in 19th century and change to present system in Trinidad

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this section of the coloured population in the lower class population, and within the whole range of the middle-class group.

This form of mobility was of great importance because it became closely linked with the other possible means which the social structure permitted within groups B and C and between the middle and upper-class group (B: A). This other form of mobility was the occupational ladder. Thus a light-skinned girl of the lower middle class would be keen to marry a darker-skinned person who was high up on the professional scale—that is, a doctor or a lawyer. At the same time a dark-skinned lawyer and doctor would seek to obtain entree into a higher status group by marrying a light-skinned person. This seemed to perform a double social function. It showed a public acceptance of the scale of values based upon skin-colour, and secondly, it sought to secure mobility for the kinship unit. Consideration of the fact that their children would be given a better start in life, would have "better chances", seems to have played a prominent part in making coloured men seek to marry lighter-skinned women. At the same time, the ladder of occupational mobility was for the most part closed to women. While, therefore, most women sought or wished to marry lighter-skinned persons than themselves, their dependent status, particularly in the middle-class group, meant that they frequently compromised and married men darker than themselves, but who had done well in the occupational world. The decision as to whether a girl should 'trade caste for class' was frequently a difficult problem to decide.

There is a story told of one dark-skinned professional man who courted a young lady considerably fairer in complexion than himself. After a period of time during which the young lady came to the conclusion that she was hardly likely to do better she accepted the proposal of marriage. On returning home that day she told her mother that she had accepted the offer. The mother resigned herself to the situation, saying that although she had hoped that her daughter would do better than that, there was some consolation in the fact that she had got a professional man. On her other daughter returning home and hearing the news that her sister was proposing to marry a black man she fell into a fit. She became so distraught that her mother became convinced of the enormity of the crime that her daughter proposed to commit. Faced with the sorrow of her other daughter, she realized the true social significance of the act. Reproachfully, she accused the guilty daughter of wishing to bring sorrow upon the house, and the engagement was consequently broken off.

The social structure was clearly founded on an ascriptive-

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particularistic basis. It was based on the one hand on the positive evaluation of the white group and, on the other, on a negative evaluation of the black group. The other groups which entered the system, therefore, sought to differentiate themselves from the black group as much as possible, even if acceptance by the white group appeared to some of these groups as an impossibility, or a very distant possibility. In other words, the fact that the social order was based on ascriptive values did not escape the other groups. Ethnic affiliation and ethnic purity were the values upon which the social stratification system was erected and, therefore, this served as a positive encouragement to non-Negro groups to try to retain their ethnic identity. Of course, there were other important reasons for this as well based on cultural differences, e.g., the nationalism of the immigrant. But a contributing force it was, none the less.

To a certain extent these immigrant groups remained outside the social system. They were considered for the most part by the rest of the population to be on the lowest social scale. The Portuguese were identified as dirty shopkeepers who spoke 'rash-potash' and could not speak English. The Indians coming in as indentured labourers were despised and thought of as 'coolies'. Both in official circles and in popular language the term 'coolie' for long remained the means of identifying this particular ethnic group.[a]

The Syrians came in for the most part as peddlers of dry goods moving from house to house, granting credit in return for small monthly payments. Their exorbitant prices and their closeness to the local population, linked to their foreign culture, and the humble nature of their work, caused them, too, to be considered as almost outside the system.

Precisely because they did not share the same scale of values, they were able to accumulate wealth with greater ease than the local population who were committed to the "standards of living" and the symbolism of their respective classes. For these and other reasons there emerged in time a middle-class among these ethnic groups who in terms of the values of the society could not be considered outside the social system. However, for various reasons they continued to retain their ethnic identity although the attempt to shed some of their ethnic characteristics became more marked as they became more assimilated. In fact, the general movement seems

[a] The term 'coolie' as a racial term was naturally resented by the Indian middle class. Although it has disappeared from use in public it is still in use as a derogatory term in private. As late as the 1940's the term was still so much taken for granted, that a locally educated professional man was heard to remark on reading the news item that "Chinese coolies were rebuilding the Burma Road", that "they seem to have a great deal of racial intermixture there"!

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to be in the direction of shedding the greater part of their cultural heritage while seeking to retain their ethnic identity by prohibiting intermarriage—except with the dominant white group.

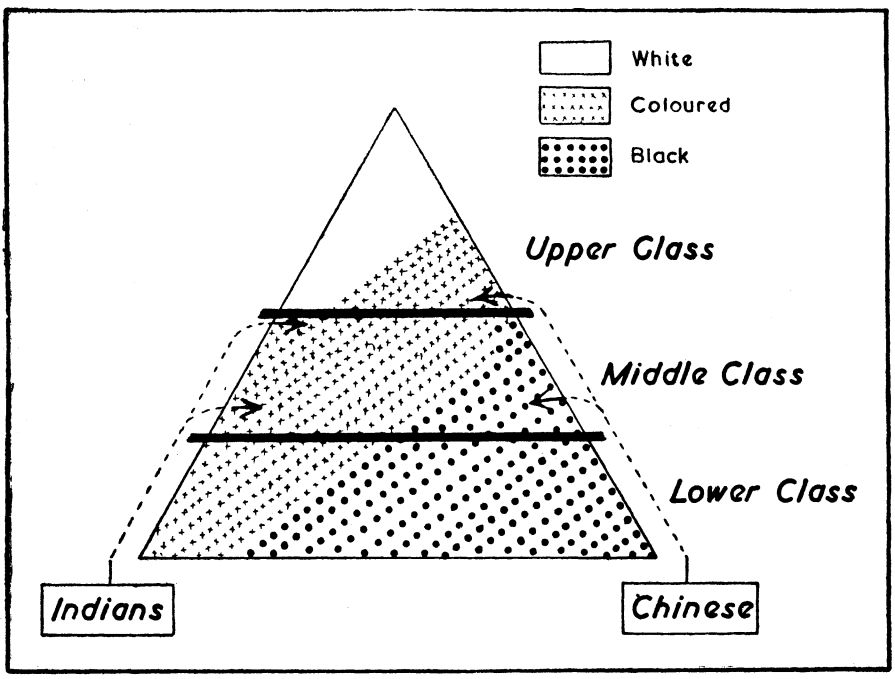

Fig. 5 Mobility of ethnic groups in Trinidad

The diagram (Fig. 5) seeks to illustrate how individuals of the various ethnic groups who were considered "outside the system" moved (in some measure at least by methods which were lowly valued by those inside the system) into positions higher up on the social ladder. This movement tends to produce a certain amount of ambivalence on the part of the society as a whole towards these groups. Because of the previous association of these groups with the lowest social status, and because of their own ambivalence implicit in their commitment to the status-striving in the social system, the (coloured) middle-class and lower class groups tend to be very resentful of the progress of the other ethnic groups.

The hostility tends to express itself in judgements of the ethnic group based on the lower-class affiliations of the majority of its members. They would rank the ethnic groups in order of superiority and inferiority in an order such as this:-

1. White
2. Coloured
3. Black
4. Indian
5. Portuguese
6. Syrian

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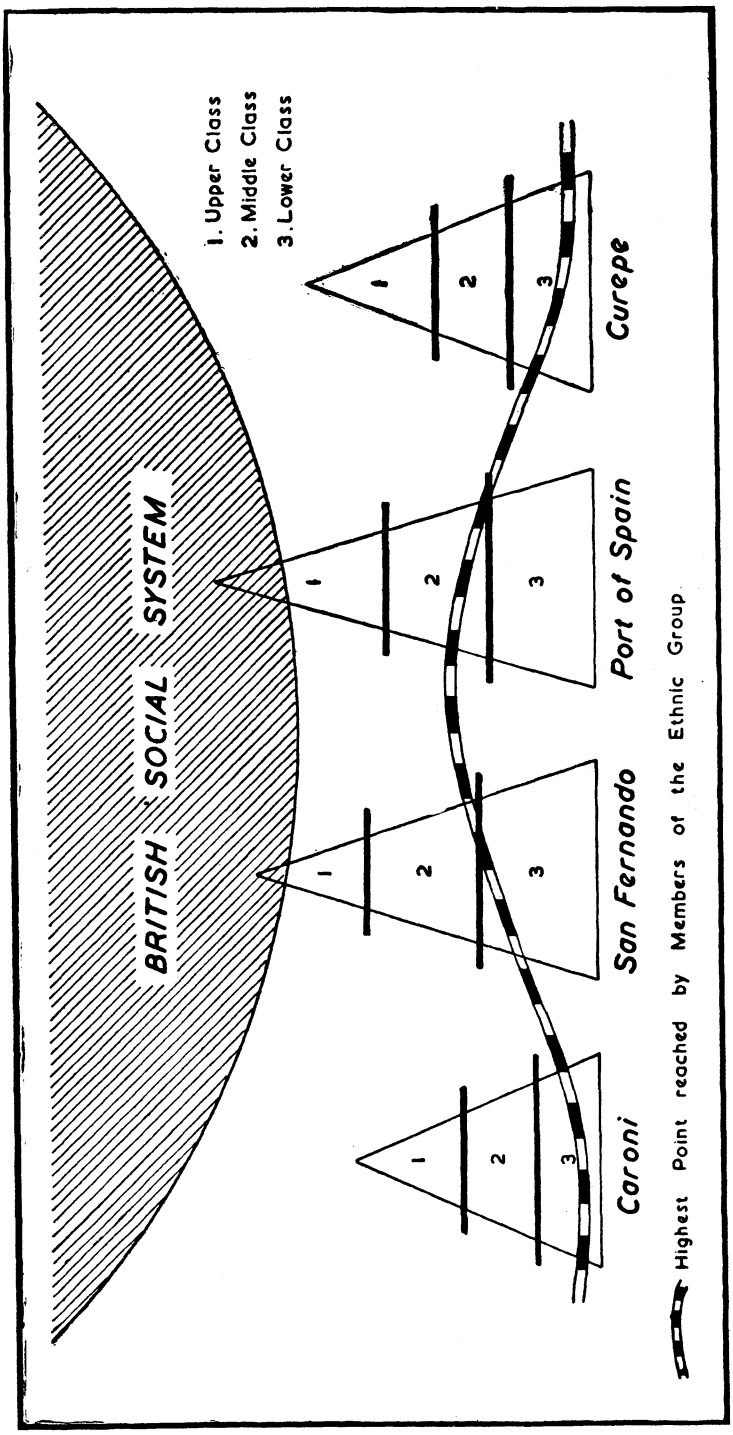

Fig. 6 Indian ethnic group and social stratification in various communities in Trinidad

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or would seek to rank the last group as being outside the system, as being "not really Trinidadian."

On the other hand the members of the upper social group tend to look upon the upward mobile individual belonging to an ethnic group in terms of his ethnic similarity or dissimilarity to the white group, viewing the mass of the ethnic group as exceptions. The possibility of mobility of these groups into the white society is equivalent in large measure to that of the lighter skinned group who are able to infiltrate into the upper classes.

Thus individuals from the Chinese, the Syrian and the Indian groups are, in that order, breaking into the lower fringes of white society. In this connection it is interesting to note that the criteria which apparently are used in making a racial judgement of individuals and of groups are common throughout the society. They are the factors of high visibility, "skin colour" and "hair". The Chinese and the Syrians are light-skinned and have "good" hair and hence appear to be more acceptable to the white group. Certainly of all the ethnic groups, the Chinese are the ones who have first "broken into" white society.

To the extent that these groups retain their culture they constitute a social system within the social system; and the way in which these interlock poses a somewhat difficult problem in the integration of the social structure. If we plot the highest point reached in the various island communities by individuals of the Indian ethnic group, we shall get a dotted line similar to the given one in the diagram (Fig. 6). However, the lines which ensure recognition and esteem and high social status within the ethnic group, do not necessarily serve to bring esteem within the larger group (although the possibility of exploiting such prestige for this purpose undoubtedly exists). Similarly, low esteem and status within the ethnic group may be associated with high status within the larger society. Specifically, the ascriptive status given by birth into a particular caste, may result in a "Maharaj" or "Brahmin" possessing high status within the ethnic group, while through his occupational position as a postman he has low status in the larger society. Conversely, a Chamar or lower caste person at the foot of the social scale in the ethnic community might be a doctor enjoying the upper middle class status in the larger society where his particular caste origin would be of no concern.

In the field of ethnic stratification we see the same phenomenon of discrepancy of judgements between individuals as we get in the ranking of communities, and in the ranking of social class within the communities. Here again, we see that the key to the unity in

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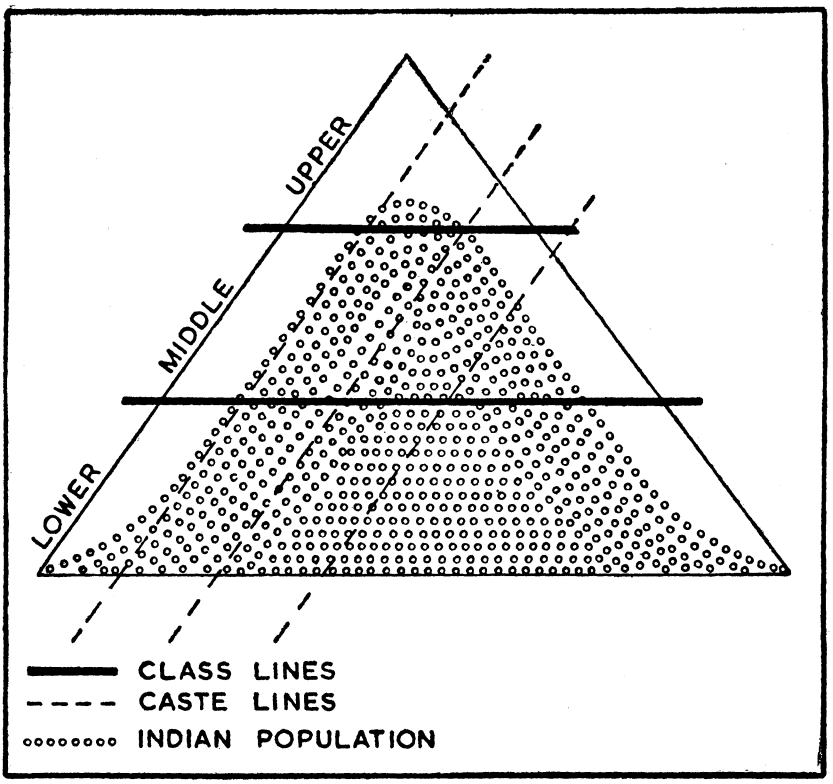

Fig 7 Differences between national system of stratification and stratification within Indian ethnic group in Trinidad

the diversity of judgements is the acceptance of the upper class as the upper class. In this case, however, we have the main common value shared by all the social groups in the society. In many respects we cannot look at the ethnic criterion as just another of the factors which go to make up class because of the fact that so many caste elements enter into the situation. It is, on a superficial view, the most important single element by which individuals come to be "placed" in the social order (Fig. 7).

The particularistic-ascriptive basis of social stratification as between the white, the coloured and the black groups became finally established during the period of slavery. Under the slave regime the identity of racial and occupational groups meant that this stratification had not only a social but a legal sanction. The emancipation of the slaves in 1838, was followed by an increasing emphasis on achievement values. The social order was being transformed in the United Kingdom itself and while under an autocratic regime these values effected only slow infiltration into the coloured society, they did, none the less, infiltrate. It is particularly interesting in

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reading the official documents of the 19th century to see how the changing climate of opinion in the "mother country" influenced the views of administrators and Englishmen resident in the colonies. This orientation towards the United Kingdom scale of values was marked because of the impact of Governmental policy in the United Kingdom upon the West Indies. In the case of Trinidad, there had been the model legislation of the Crown Colony preceding the emancipation of the slaves; there had been the general question of the emancipation of the slaves; the compensation to be given to the planters therefor; and the problem of apprenticeship. Following this, there was the question of the control of indentured labour, which had to be viewed in Imperial perspective. This factor dominated the island's history during the 19th century and was intimately linked with the crisis in the sugar industry. The state of the sugar industry was the cause of various commissions of enquiry during the century. This concern flowed not only from the normal commitment to improve the conditions of the inhabitants of the territory, but from the fact that sugar was an export crop, and the fate of the industry depended so very much on the economic policy of the Imperial Government.

Moreover, the mere existence of the Englishman with his particular scale of social values meant that these values would tend to spread to the lower elements in the society. It may be true, as one critic has remarked, that the British have given as culture to the colonial people "the cheapest side of commercial cinema and just so much education as to ensure a cheap supply of clerical labour on the spot." Certainly, in the case of the West Indies there was never any attempt to establish, as in some of the Spanish areas, any institutions of higher learning. But education on the lower levels, even if it was to ensure cheap clerical labour on the spot, was supplied. In fact in some respects it can be claimed that educational policy was more progressive in Trinidad than it was in the United Kingdom. For instance Lord Harris, Governor in the middle of the 19th century sought to establish a school in each governmental Ward, the schools to be free but supported by local taxes. In any case, formal education even on the lowest levels seems to be almost intrinsically linked with a universalistic scale of values. Moreover, while it may be possible to a large extent to control the reading of a society by controlling its publishing, and its external contacts with other societies, it is certainly more dfficult to control the reading of one segment of a society, particularly where there are no language barriers to communication.

Many of the 19th century educators in Trinidad were in-

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tellectually committed to the idea of equal opportunity for all and the boast was made by one that the humblest citizen of Trinidad could get a post in the Civil Service of India by making his way through competitive examination. In the progressive establishment of education there were several different elements involved—not all absolutely "universalistic-achievement" centred. Thus the provision of secondary education at first appears to have been started as a means of meeting the needs of the white residents of the colony. Similarly, the provision of scholarships for professional study at universities in the United Kingdom sprang from a desire to give opportunity to children of deserving whites in the colonies. Even where coloured people were admitted to schools, the stringency with which class lines were drawn in the society is indicated by the fact that when scholarships were first granted for the elementary schools of the colony to the secondary schools, one of the leading newspapers of the island warned of the undesirability and danger of having lower-class children mixing with children of the middle and the upper classes.

Once the institution of island scholarships for study abroad and of secondary education had been established out of public funds, and continued to exist out of public subsidies, it became impossible to deny the right of competition in the particular context of island society. The colonial Government was committed to looking after the welfare of the inhabitants. Indeed, that was the justification for its rule; and hence public funds spent on awards based upon competitive examination could not be used in such a way as to imply overt discrimination. It was the ladder thus established by the educational system that became one of the most important methods by which members of the middle and lower classes could improve their position on the occupational scale and come to play an important role in public affairs.

The initiative of the Government in the sphere of education had other important consequences. The fees charged in the Government secondary schools were necessarily low and as the climate of public opinion veered towards an increasing concern with public provision of educational facilities, it became difficult for the Government to raise the fees in the secondary schools. Government was forced by its position to run a school of a standard that would face up to public criticism both in the colony and in the United Kingdom. This meant that the standard of teaching had to be high.. Salaries had to be paid on a scale that would attract good teachers (chiefly from the U.K.). The pattern of low school fees and high standards set by the Government institutions had to be taken over by the voluntary bodies

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running secondary schools if they were to receive public funds.

The impetus to education in the post-emancipation period, as at present, did not come from the Government only. There was acute religious concern for the "morals and welfare" of the inhabitants and in the case of the Roman Catholics there was the well-established Catholic doctrine, that education was in the main an affair of the family and the Church, and only indirectly an affair of the State. Hence, schools run by the various religious denominations became common and the system of "dual control" was eventually established after stubborn resistance on the part of religious bodies (the Roman Catholics in particular) to the establishment of a State system of education in the 1870's.[a] The other field in which there were to be established on a large scale the values of universalistic achievement was in the public service. Once educational ability was recognized by Government as being worthy of encouragement it seemed incumbent upon the Government to provide opportunities for those for whom they had provided the education. Here again, in the public service the expenditure of public money could not be made on caste lines. Appointments had to be made, formally at least, on the basis of ability. The definition of the qualities necessary for making good civil servants was notoriously lacking. Intelligence was obviously important, but other factors of personality and character were admittedly of great relevance. It was through this factor that the discrimination against the dark-skinned coloured person was, until yesterday, maintained, since these were matters for the most part incapable of objective test. Judgement in this respect had to rest on the subjective evaluation of individuals in authority, and of committees. However, just as the white creole was able to wrest the right to appointment to certain posts in the Civil Service on the grounds of his ability, so was the light-skinned coloured person able in his turn to lay his claim, on the basis of ability. In time the dark-skinned person has made his claim to consideration; and the public service in so far as it has been opened to local control is organized, in principle at any rate, on the objective bases of ability and, in the lower ranks, seniority. The way in which the individuals with a particularistic scale of values emotionally attached to one ethnic group and antagonistic to others came to meet the discipline of the achievement-centred and universalistically oriented public service would make an interesting field study. The fact of the interplay of the two factors of "favouritism" and ability has had far-reaching consequences. Where abilities have been equal

[a] For an account of this crisis in education see "Trinidad" by L. A. G. de Verteuil.

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the particularistic values became dominant and because of the acceptance by the mass of the people of the ascriptive scale of values based on skin colour, the struggle for the open ladder has not been an easy one within the Civil Service, or in the granting of scholarships and awards. One result of this was the widespread belief, still alive, that it is necessary to have a patron (a "godfather" in local terminology) in order to advance within the Civil Service. Belief in the integrity of the Civil Service has always been asserted. If we neglect the plundering of public funds which occasionally takes place and is regarded in a somewhat different light by the general public from the appropriation of private funds, we can accept the assertion that the standards of integrity with regard to financial matters (the absence of bribery, etc.) have followed, in the main, the traditions of the British public service. But in respect to "nepotism", the use of an intrinsically irrelevant scale of values in the conferring of appointments and in determining promotions, the problem assumed great proportions because the particularistic values tended to reinforce one another. Not only skin colour was used as a criterion, but class origin as well. In view of the historical background and the relative lack of mobility, skin colour tended to be closely identified with social class. Into the judgements of social class went certain other personality characteristics which had a greater relevance to effectiveness of performance. It was therefore easy for an individual so inclined to rationalize his prejudice (based on racial or skin colour grounds) by asserting that a dark-skinned person, say, was uncouth or undesirable on other grounds. Partiality was thus difficult to attack until achievement values became so general in the society that the possibility of "racial" prejudice hiding under social class discrimination could not find a sympathetic response. In this respect the spread of democratic ideas and of political reform were of crucial importance in breaking down the barriers of social class and producing a more achievement-oriented civil service.

The way in which the pressure of opinion influenced political action and in this way helped to democratize attitudes is in no way better illustrated than in the manner constitutional advances have taken place in the colony. The result of the fact that the Secretary of State for the Colonies was responsible for training people for self-government meant that any disturbance of law and order which assumed a general form became his responsibility. In this way his concern was led out from the narrowly political into the more general problems of the welfare of the inhabitants of the area. Hence it was that bad conditions in any area that led to a general upheaval would lead to the establishment of some Commission of enquiry. Thus it was

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that after the strikes and riots of 1937 which originated in the oilfield area, the Foster Commission was sent out. Following the spread of these riots and strikes to other areas the West India Commission was appointed. Again, following the strikes and riots of 1946, an experienced trade unionist, Mr. F. W. Dalley, was sent out to report on the allegations of maltreatment of trade unionists and repressive Government action.

All of these Commissions of enquiry were appointed in response to criticism coming from within the United Kingdom. When a Royal Commission was appointed, individuals of the competence and integrity that is expected of a Royal Commission had to be selected. But an examination of the personnel of these various Commissions seems to show that people had to be appointed who held the confidence of British public opinion. They were acceptable to public opinion in Trinidad because they were people of established reputations and could view the problems from outside since they were not involved in the particular issues. None the less, their orientation was to the larger society, and it was through the crystallization of their criticisms of the social order that the universalistic-achievement scale of values made one of its most important impacts on the island society.

In the face of critical opinion those who had taken upon themselves the burden of training the subject peoples for self-government took various courses of action in order to remedy the situation. The action taken was usually action in Imperial perspective, and the general lines followed the prevailing climate of opinion in the United Kingdom. For various reasons, among which was the fact that the political machinery of government was most easily responsive to administrative control, recommendations for political change were prominent. Hence, under the pressure of public opinion, the most obvious sphere of reform was in constitution changing. These constitutional changes were all in the direction of increasing democracy.

To the extent that adult suffrage and increased responsibility of the elected members were accepted in the island there arose the problem that, if there was to be any real surrender of power the Civil Service would have to be West Indianized. The demand for promotion within the Civil Service had in large measure been met only on the lower levels because of the lack of any schemes for the training of people for the higher positions. However, schemes were "pushed" and financed to a large extent by the new Colonial Development and Welfare Organization set up in the West Indies following the recommendations of the Moyne Commission. Initiative came largely from

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the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Both programme and performance outstripped any demands made by the articulate section of Trinidad opinion. The process of West Indianization proceeded at such a rapid pace, no doubt, because, due to war conditions and the existence of full employment in Great Britain in the period immediately after World War II, it became increasingly difficult for the Colonial Office to fill senior appointments. However, an important point is, that altogether, in recruiting people within the service for scholarships and in subsequent promotion, discrimination became increasingly difficult. For one thing, the successful candidates had to follow courses attached to the universities, and therefore had to be of sufficient ability to profit from these courses. The assessment of their work on an objective basis by people accustomed to such assessment[a] also ensured the recognition of achievement. Even where, as in some cases, the training received was not attached to the university (such was the training involved in secondment for work at the Colonial Office) the candidates came under the scrutiny of people from outside the island society, who frequently had no experience of colonial society and its particular set of prejudices.

The overall effect of this achievement in the field of administration was reinforced by the general change in climate of opinion that took place in the island society as a whole. The idea that elections should be held on the basis of adult suffrage had been current in radical political circles in Trinidad for quite a while. The championship of the "barefooted man" by Captain Cipriani and the Trinidad Labour Party in the period immediately after the First World War, meant that in any reform less attention would have to be paid to property qualifications. The general mass support achieved by the Labour Party and its leader indicated that the old 19th century conception of property qualifications was outmoded. In the terms of the development of the island the future belonged, like the 20th century, to the common man or, in terms of the island society, to the barefoot man. The grant of adult suffrage also ensured for the Colonial Office a breathing spell from hostile criticism, since it gave a great deal of the external appearance of democracy while the positions of real administrative authority remained in effective

[a] The problem involved in such assessment should not, however, be overlooked. On the one hand where the training was merely the admission of colonial candidates to a course of training previously directed to U.K. Colonial Officers, there tended to be carried over something of the imperial tradition into the training. More important was the fact that frequently university professors, only vaguely aware of the limitations of colonial students, and with hazy notions of the capacity of students of different racial origin, tended to be over-generous in their estimation of West Indian students' abilities. Furthermore, the study of West Indian conditions had been more or less neglected.

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control.[a] The symbolic significance as well as the practical importance of the vote was not lost. It meant a real gain to the black lower class.

This movement towards increased democracy helped to spread even further the general ideas of equality then present. It is interesting to note that the House elected on adult suffrage went on record, in principle, as being in favour of free secondary education for all, and that the number of scholarships or free entry places to the secondary schools was incidentally increased from fifty-two to one hundred.[b] The long-vexed question of teachers' salaries for the first time approached something in the nature of a satisfactory settlement and the number of open island scholarships was increased from three to five.

In the more subtle spheres of social life the political democratization also had its effects. Here we are only concerned to point out its effects on the achievement values of the society and in producing within the Civil Service a career open to talent.

ELEMENTS IN THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE THAT LED TO THE BREAKING DOWN OF THE CASTE IDEA INTO THE OPEN CLASS SYSTEM

We have already noted that there was educational provision which permitted people to qualify for junior clerical positions. This was of some importance, but such persons only obtained employment in private industry. More important was the field of secondary education which permitted the absorption of people into the junior ranks of the Civil Service. Here they were able to rise on the basis of their experience and knowledge of local conditions to high posts within the Civil Service. A former Colonial Secretary of the colony started at the foot of the ladder, and many of the local men now senior civil servants in charge of Departments started with the School Certificate as their main qualification.

The linkage of particularism and achievement, of extraneous considerations and intrinsic merit. ensured that only fair-skinned people could rise to positions of prominence. It is no derogation from the proven ability of Sir Errol Dos Santos to point out that it is unlikely that if he was a dark-skinned person he would have risen

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a This is, of course, an interpretation based on the fact that this policy was only one of a number of possible alternatives. On the merits of the case there could be some justification for advocating a course of development radically different from the one adopted. The explanation cannot be made in terms of "rational" grounds alone.

b "The large increase in free exhibitions and bursaries to secondary schools meets a long overdue need. The provision of maintenance allowances opens the door for the first time to the best brains from any corner of the colony."—Department of Education Report, 1948.

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to such a commanding position in the public life of the colony. In the first place, the incentive would probably have been lacking and in the second place barriers would have been erected based on lack of contact with the 'proper connections'.[a] On this point it is interesting to note, therefore, that there still exists the belief among some individuals in the community that it is desirable to obtain an English wife in order that one might the more effectively obtain promotion within the Civil Service. While the numbers of such people are undoubtedly small, there is a much larger group who feel that some of the coloured men who have married English wives have had in view the possibility not only of breaking into white society, but of obtaining promotion within the Civil Service.

Most important of all was the fact that the independent professions were open to all who could acquire sufficient wealth to finance themselves. In the small community it was relatively easy to establish a reputation and to make a living as a doctor. Once the basic qualifications were obtained all that was necessary—all that is necessary now—is to hang out one's shingle and await one's clients. The same held true for the dentist, the barrister and the solicitor.

The doctors and the lawyers in every society where they exist as an established part of the social structure, enjoy high status. This is almost inevitably so because of the nature of the training received, the degree of responsibility which the profession entails, and the fact that the lawyer and the doctor are those to whom people turn when they are in trouble. These professions were, therefore, of especial attraction in a society which was so highly stratified on caste and skin-colour lines that there was a particularly high concern with problems of status. Hence it was that among the coloured group all those that could afford it, or all those who were fortunate enough to obtain scholarships, proceeded to the United Kingdom to study medicine and law or, in a few cases, dentistry.

One result of this concern with studying law and medicine was that for the man-in-the-street of the towns, at least, the ambition was held out to his children of winning an exhibition to the secondary school and then a scholarship to the university. During the period when the higher reaches of the Civil Service were in large measure debarred to coloured and dark-skinned persons the professions became the only method, or at least the most important method, of social mobility. The effect of increased educational expansion was to cause a rush for the professions. Consequently the profession of

[a] In many respects the existence of "discrimination" within the Civil Service led to intrigue, wire-pulling and manoeuvring of the most distressing sort. Even more disastrous, however, was the belief, based on the careers and achievements of a few men, that all that was necessary in order to govern the state effectively was the possession of a School Certificate.

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law (where qualification is more cheaply obtained than in medicine) has been extremely overcrowded.

The establishment of coloured persons in the professions was easy because the bulk of the population was coloured and therefore there was no racial barrier to patronage. Even among the white group such prejudices as there were were not very strong since most of the white Trinidadians at any rate had become accustomed to personal contact with maids during childhood. Moreover many of the coloured practitioners had achieved their professions by winning scholarships in open competition and their intellectual merit had often been further proven in competition with the students of the United Kingdom. The absence of any rigid system of discrimination in the schools, too, meant that in the small community they would be personally known and their merits assessed by the white Trinidadians with whom they had been educated.

The factor of moral commitment on the part of the public authority also entered here since, in the absence of any native or customary law which could serve to rationalize the creation of different systems of justice, the traditional concepts of British justice had to be meted out to all, irrespective of race. It would have been unthinkable to deny any person who had qualified the right to practise in the Courts of Law. The practice of the profession remained open in the United Kingdom and once this was so the same qualifications necessarily had to apply to coloured persons within the Colonial Empire.

The matters of life and death, and the problem involved in the adequate ordering of property relationships, were of such a nature that it was, and is still, not unusual to find white clients patronizing non-white doctors and lawyers.

In the case of the law the provision for allowing time off the period of articleship for solicitors' clerks of a certain number of years standing, also opened the door of the solicitors' profession to poor and humble persons.

The other professions, teaching, drugs and nursing, where the rewards both in material terms and in terms of status were not high, were for the most part staffed by Trinidadians, with only the supervisory and most senior positions held by white persons. In all these, provision for training and examination of persons was made locally, and there were no heavy expenses involved. At the same time the financial returns were so low as not to be really attractive to upper-class persons or persons from abroad.

The existence of these lesser professions permitted the absorption of a great many lower-middle-class persons of dark complexion

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who were unable to enter or were diffident about entering the Civil Service. This was disadvantageous both in terms of money and status. It is difficult not to believe that the extreme concern on the part of teachers with salaries, conditions of work and equivalence of esteem with the Civil Service, as opposed to a more general interest in the problems of education, did not spring from the frustrated class-strivings of the members of the teaching group. This assertion, it should be noted, is in general resisted by the teachers themselves.

Among the occupations traditionally associated with the lower class there was no differentiation, and mobility from the unskilled to the skilled labour group depended upon ability and opportunity, the chances being equally distributed as between the lighter-skinned and the darker-skinned elements of the population.

There were some occupational groupings which got distributed upon ethnic lines. In particular the differentiation of employment between the Indian and Negro groups was of importance to the social mobility and opportunities of the former group.[a] Some of them just happened to be different occupations, but others became particularly identified with the social class position of the Indian group. Such were the scavenging of the streets, and "coolie" work in the more normal sense in which that word is used.

The existence of the large class of cheap labour both in agriculture and as porters in the towns had a tremendously important psychological effect, in that it led to the accentuation of that dislike for agricultural work which was an inheritance from the slavery period, and also to a despising of all forms of manual work in the towns. For the smallest sum a "coolie" was available to carry heavy loads for long distances; and even the humblest of citizens were familiar with the employment of these beasts of burden.

From the point of view of the social structure as a whole this identification of the ethnic group with the lowest class on the occupational scale was of great significance since it allowed a great deal of aggression to be directed against this group which would otherwise have had to find other and possibly more "dangerous" forms of expression.

RELIGION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The importance of ethnic criteria in the determination of status within the society can be seen if we compare it with another criterion which in certain other countries tends to be closely identified with

[a] The problems posed by the existence within the island society of the large pocket of East Indians and the secondary problems that flow from this will be more fully dealt with elsewhere.

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social class: religious affiliation. The variety of religions to be found within the island is great. The main division is between the Christian and the non-Christian denominations. But within the Christian division, which more or less coincides with the "creole" (as opposed to the Indian) section of society, there are a great many denominations and sects.

According to the Census of 1946 the religious division of the population of the island was as follows:

Religious Persuasion		% Total Population
Christians:		
Roman Catholic		34.5
Anglican		24.2
Presbyterian		3.6
Wesleyan		2.5
Baptist		2.2
Moravian		1.3
Seventh Day Adventist		1.2
Other Christians		1.3
	Total:	70.8
Non-Christian:		
Hindu		22.7
Moslem		5.8
Other non-Christians		.7
	Total:	29.2

The figures indicate an important fact. Most of the members of the upper-class are either Roman Catholic or Anglican, but these are by no means identifiable as upper-class religions. Affiliation to these Churches, and to the Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Baptist and Moravian, is to be found through all the social classes. It is really only the Seventh Day Adventists and those sects which are here described as non-Christian which have a real class affiliation—in the former case an affiliation with the lower class[a] Thus the religious tie cuts across the divisions of social class. This is an important point because attachment to the religious institutions is strong with most Trinidadians. In a society in which stratification coincided with race to such an extent, if religious affiliations were not distributed in this way the likelihood of these tensions within the stratification system assuming political form would have been greatly increased. However, although religious affiliation does not follow class lines there is stratification within the Church itself. For instance, the

[a] These are discussed in the section, 'The Lower Classes'.

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high dignitaries in all the Christian denominations are mostly Europeans. Indeed, it is only among the nuns of the Catholic Church that there exists a high proportion of coloured persons among the religious orders.

The actual conduct of Church affairs allows for the participation of all members of the community. Although, for instance, the hierarchy in the Anglican Church is predominantly white in the upper layers, there are coloured vestrymen who help in the conduct of affairs. There is a local recruitment to the ministry but here in the opinion of many who have studied at the Theological College preferment depended so much on the Church authorities that something of the same psychology as that of the middle-class civil servant seems to have been created among the theological students.

In the Catholic Church there have never been any high dignitaries of colour associated with the hierarchy. More recently there seems to have been an effort to recruit the priesthood locally. So far, there is only one such Catholic figure to assume any public prominence, although there are a few coloured priests as well. Once inducted into their office it would appear that these Catholic priests enjoy the same status in the eyes of the Catholic population as the white priests do. For instance, when Dom Basil Matthews, a sociologist, published some of his work on the structure of the West Indian family, his views were widely acclaimed as being in accord with Catholic doctrine and he became something of a hero in socially-minded Catholic circles. Among the laymen influential in the Catholic Church were some of the most prominent coloured professional men in the colony. The same association of coloured laymen with the official organization also occurred in the Methodist Church. The social stratification in the Churches thus reflected to some extent the social stratification in the society although religious affiliation was not the basis of social stratification.

SPORT AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

In one respect sport, and in particular cricket, has served as a means of breaking down racial separation along caste lines. The British, wherever they have settled in large numbers, have carried their games with them, and notably cricket. Within this sport efficiency is recognised as such. In order to have cricket of a sufficiently high standard it was necessary to encourage the local people to play the game. In the course of time the organization of English sides to visit the West Indies took place. The Captain of one of these early sides to visit Trinidad is reported to have cabled back to the United Kingdom: "Beaten by a local side whereof six were black."

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This competition with representative sides from England and with the neighbouring islands meant that choice had largely to be determined on the basis of skill, when representative teams were chosen. Within the island, too, there were competitions; and the main upper-class cricket club in order to have a team which would allow it to compete successfully and maintain its hold on the organization of cricket, seems to have developed a more tolerant attitude than the other purely social clubs. Certainly its policy has been most liberal and tolerant as regards colour, since several light-skinned and brown-skinned persons have been admitted to membership. It is for this reason, perhaps, that it has remained primarily a sports club rather than a general social club.

Sport only functioned in a limited way, however, in breaking down the barriers to racial segregation, and the development in cricket was by no means universal. Tennis, because, perhaps, of the expensiveness of equipment involved, has never taken, and is only now taking, a deep hold upon the coloured section of the population. The tennis clubs tended to be exclusively white or exclusively Chinese. With the development of tennis among the coloured population, however, there are island championships for which all the different races compete. This has not affected the actual organization of the clubs themselves, which is still along racial lines. A policeman has represented Trinidad in inter-island competitions in tennis, just as he had done in cricket, but his own club membership has not changed.

Rugby is played only on a small scale, by English people. Like all the other "imported" games it has to be taught from above, and the game implies a degree of intimate physical contact, which is not present in cricket, soccer or hockey. In the latter games the teams that compete follow faithfully the class lines. Thus, in the Trinidad Amateur Football Association competed for in Port of Spain, there have been the following teams:

Club A (now defunct) had a team confined almost entirely to Britishers.

Club B was an all-white team which eventually emerged as a social club and had its headquarters in a symbolically appropriate position near the Queen's Park Savannah, where few coloured people lived.

Club C was less exclusive and admitted to its membership Portuguese, Syrians (who had attained the external and visible signs of high social class) and an occasional professional coloured person. The club-house, again, stood near the Savannah.

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Club D was composed of light-skinned and brown-skinned people who had European features: chiefly lower middle-class elements and never, for instance, any professional men. Its organization served to centre primarily around the ethnic qualification rather than the other class distinctions of the middle class.
Occasionally there was mobility upwards into Club C when the individual member had improved his position in life.

Club E also had a middle-class membership but its shade of colour was somewhat darker. It overlapped somewhat with Club D. Its range was wider; the dark-skinned middle-class person who paid special attention to association with lighter-skinned persons would occasionally find himself in this group.

Club F was composed of the brown middle class. It was a social club of the brown-skinned and dark-skinned professional man.

Club G was composed chiefly of the lower middle class and was predominantly dark-skinned.

Club H was proletarian, chiefly dark-skinned, with an admixture of brown and light-skinned persons. It is sometimes referred to as the "Belmont Boys"—Belmont being a working-class and lower middle-class district from which most of the team's members hail.

A somewhat similar differentiation can be traced in the cricket sides and the hockey sides. The reflection of the social influence and status of the whites is seen in the fact that although most of the island sides in cricket and football were coloured, the captains of the cricket and football sides were always white. There has still never been a coloured captain of cricket for Trinidad, while the first dark-skinned captain of football was appointed only in the 1940's. The position, that it was necessary to have a white person in command of the sporting side, used to be defended by coloured persons but is practically unsupported now.

The question of the organization of sport is more important than it seems at first. For one thing it is a field in which nearly the whole of the society takes an interest, and not merely the teams concerned. There is no professional football and the watching of amateur games is one of the major forms of entertainment in the society. In the second place the representation of the teams abroad is something of symbolic significance for the island society. It should not be forgotten that when the touring West Indian Cricket Team

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defeated England for the first time in a Test Match in 1950, the Governor of Trinidad in response to public request gave a public holiday and the Captain of the touring team received a decoration in the King's honours list.

The efforts of the teams abroad are followed with interest and there are always crops of rumours about racial discrimination in connection both with the selection of the side and with incidents occurring upon the tours.

The superior financial position of the upper-class groups also means that they hold a commanding position in the organization of sport. The visiting teams use their grounds because their club premises are superior. The need in cricket for the possession of a large enclosed space in the city, or within easy reach of the city, if tours are to be financially successful, places the Queen's Park Club in a strategic position for the control of cricket. Recently the voting of a sum of money by the Government as a loan for the purpose of providing better accommodation for spectators was denounced as a species of class legislation.[a]

SOCIAL CLUBS AND STRATIFICATION

The system of stratification reflected in the sports clubs of the island also finds reflection in the organization of the so-called 'social clubs'. A publication "Trinidad Who, What, and Why" (published by the author, Mr. S. Smith, in 1950) is revealing in its comments on the social life of the colony. The publication itself is a mixture of Directory, Yearbook, and Who's Who. The Editor is a coloured Trinidadian, a former newspaperman and knowledgeable about conditions in the island. He has had to tread the ground warily so as not to offend either the big white merchants (his main advertisers) or the coloured professional groups whose co-operation is likewise needed both for financial reasons and in order to get adequate biographical data. In a sense, therefore, his views on social stratification reflect the generally recognized facts of the situation.

There are innumerable sporting clubs," he writes, "and just over sixteen social clubs if a proper check is made of those seeking recognition as such. Social life amongst those clubs means little or nothing."

Mr. Smith deals with the proprietary clubs first of all:

The Country Club which "claims a certain amount of exclusivity but there is a certain line of demarkation between the top local

[a] The same complaints of differential treatment in the disbursement of public funds have been recently made in Jamaica, but in the latter instance there was little inference of discrimination as far as admission to membership of the club was concerned.

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whites and the middle class whites. It lays no claim to exclusive white membership as there is quite a fair share of fair-skinned and coloured members."

The Perseverance "is less exclusive in that nationality race or other rank or class. **(sic)**. Its membership and entertainment cards are pretty well varied. Perseverance caters for the very mixed of Trinidad society."

The Palm Beach . . . "Still less exclusive is the Palm Beach club. It is mainly a club for the middle, lower middle, and non-descripts of the island's social strata. There are no barriers whatsoever as to colour, rank, or class, the main object being to cater for respectability in the social ranks of the colony."

The Palms Club "is the result of South Trinidad's Indian coloured society. Here again there are no pretensions to exclusivity, though a stern effort is occasionally made to be selective rather than allow promiscuity in its membership roll."

NON-PROPRIETARY CLUBS

The Union Club "is essentially a businessman's club. Once the exclusive haunts of the top ranking planter businessman, professional . . . official . . . A splendid mixture of class and rank."

The Clydesdale "formerly a Scotch club, is now open to the English, French and creole."

The Naparima "is a near approach to Clydesdale Club standards with pretensions to a white following."

The St. Clair "claims to be the only Trinidad club where none other than a white membership is permitted despite variations of rank and class in its membership."

The Casuals and Shamrock "maintain social sections. The Casuals differ very little from the Shamrock club except that part of its membership is comprised of the one-time blue blood aristocracy of the island."

The Portuguese Club for "the more socially ambitious" of the Portuguese settlers.

The Cosmos "is probably the only club primarily intended for the coloured (not black) members of the community. Its progress was very marked early in its existence but disunity, a sore point with the coloured race when it so often becomes exacting as to differences in shades of coloured skin and of rank or class or position, lessened its ranks considerably. Trinidad's coloured race really needs a country club of its own."

The Maple Club "now possesses a practically all black membership

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unlike the days of its origin when it was exclusively a coloured club."

The Indian Club "is exclusively confined to Trinidadian-born East Indians."

Chinese Recreation Club . . . "the social rendezvous of the Trinidadian-born Chinese who (like the Indians) are ambitiously paying their way progressively in every walk of life in the colony. These young people are showing that they are no less backward socially than their Western brethren."

The St. Augustine Club is a white club. "One knows of the St. Augustine Club at St. Augustine primarily intended for the residential aristocracy of the district and its immediate surroundings. In its own quiet way it endeavours to maintain social life in this suburb."

There are in Mr. Smith's remarks many illustrations of various features of the social class system. The picture that he draws is one that would be accepted by most of these people of importance in the community who are included in his Who's Who. Although the picture would be believed to be substantially correct by the members of the white group and the upper section of the coloured middle class, it appears in a somewhat different light as we go down the scale. The tendency among the upper sections of the coloured group to deny the sharpness of racial differences would lead to a stressing of the mixed nature of the clubs such as the Union Club and the Country Club. To the member of the lower middle class and of the lower class these are all "white clubs", however; and indeed symbolic in many cases of white domination or superiority.

Another interesting feature of Mr. Smith's description is that only the clubs that in his opinion matter are mentioned. This should not lead us to believe that there are no other social clubs in existence. Proprietary clubs of one sort or another have been springing up, sometimes in close proximity to the better-class clubs, to cater for those sections of the lower class and the lower reaches of the middle class who are attracted by this form of entertainment. Among these clubs a special effort is made to get the lower middle class individual to join in order to lend an air of respectability to the club. This is done both in an effort to raise the tone of the club and to render its membership attractive, and in order to have contacts which may be useful when dealing with the public authorities (the granting of licences, etc.) This form of entertainment, "night clubbing", does not appeal to the majority of the members of the working class, among whom the big public dance or the "house fete" are still preferred.

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There is another aspect of lower class club life which has not been touched on and that is the large number of recreational clubs to be found in most of the urban centres. These are men's clubs and have the right to sell liquor to members on the premises at times when the ordinary bar or rum shop is closed. Although during the war the presence of Americans led to the degeneration of many of these clubs into mere headquarters for the criminal plundering of drunks and the procuring of prostitutes. in more normal times they have served the more noteworthy function of regulating gambling among the working class.

While the love of gambling is almost universal among all classes of Trinidad society it is subject by means of the law to social control. Lotteries have to receive the prior sanction of the police, and the running of sweepstakes is the exclusive preserve of the Trinidad Turf Club. More recently there have been attempts to organize football pools based on the amateur competitions in Port of Spain.

However, these forms of gambling have not sufficed to absorb all the energies of the lower class. Gambling at *whe whe* and at cards is still immensely popular. *Whe whe* is alleged to be a Chinese game which became popular and creolized. The essence of the game is that the individual buys a mark ('lion', 'cat', etc.) from a *whe whe* marker, and if his mark is drawn in the lottery he receives a prize. The game is organized by the *whe whe* banker, who retains a substantial portion of the subscriptions for himself. Opportunities for dishonesty on the part of both the *whe whe* marker and the banker are many, but this has not impeded the popularity of the game. Indeed, the phrase "when the mark buss" has passed into general Trinidad usage for "when the climax came".

There used also to be frequent prosecutions for gambling. In the case of the *whe whe* the attack was directed against the marker and the banker, but the attractions of profits were too high to eliminate the game. In the case of gambling with playing cards, however, the actual player was prosecuted. Small informal groups gathered in the most out-of-the-way places would be raided by the police. The justification for the prosecution of gambling was alleged to be the frequent fights, sometimes fatal, that arose in the course of gambling disputes. The main drive, however, seemed to lie in the puritanic heritage which allowed for the practice of gambling, but at the same time permitted the working off of feelings of guilt by prosecutions directed against the lower class.

The institution of the recreation club, which is usually proprietary, has produced no radical change in the manners or the morals of the lower class. Indeed it has facilitated the "vice" of drinking

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as an accompaniment to gambling. But it does throw upon the management and the proprietor of the club the duty to maintain some more or less adequate control of the members within the club premises.

Another interesting aspect of the club life is the proliferation of clubs among the white upper class and the relative absence among the middle class. We have seen that Mr. Smith complained in connection with the Cosmos Club that "Trinidad's coloured race really needs a Country Club of its own". This is an opinion which for the past generation has constantly been repeated among the coloured middle class. Yet no such club has emerged. This can be attributed to a variety of causes. In the first place the relative smallness of the middle class, the limitations of wealth and the proclivity for conspicuous consumption made such a project difficult to organize from the economic point of view. But even more important was that the mobility permitted by the social system caused all the most influential members of the coloured middle class, from whom leadership in this direction could be expected, to be oriented towards moving out of the social group. Had there been a hard and fast caste barrier between the white and coloured sections of the community the situation in this respect would have been quite different.

Another reason was the existence of shade discrimination within the coloured group. Thus Mr. Smith thinks of the "Coloured Country Club" as a sort of projection of the Cosmos group into a larger sphere. To many other middle class persons who have advocated the establishment of a substantial coloured club, a bigger and better Cosmos does not seem an attractive project. Indeed in many discussions these individuals have envisaged a club which would resemble a projection of the Maple Club in its phase when it represented a transitional period from a predominantly 'coloured' to a predominantly black membership.

In part, too, the failure flowed from the relatively restricted life of the lower middle classes. Among this group there was relatively little travelling done. Among the European group with a large floating population club life was a necessity, but the coloured middle class until quite recently preferred entertainment at home, with the husband seeking only an occasional escape. Moreover it was among this group that the puritanical virtues were strongest and the struggle to maintain propriety and respectability was most acute. It takes some time for the changing values of an upper class group to diffuse down to the classes lower in the social scale, particularly where a caste-like structure exists. Hence it is only recently that more liberal attitudes have become more acceptable among the middle class.

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The rise of the new proprietary clubs which cater for a mixed clientele seems to have answered to some extent this hankering after "a proper club of our own" on the part of the coloured group. The proprietary club finds it easier to deal with differentiating shades of colour and rank. It is able to practise discrimination, so that the clubs are not swamped with too many dark-skinned persons, with less risk of harmful repercussions. In the purely social clubs these nice discriminations are likely to lead to much personal animosity and to warfare among cliques.

The proprietary clubs have helped to remove some of the rigidity of social barriers. Where the social group is sufficiently wealthy and large the proprietary clubs merely follow the accepted line of the social clubs. Competition of the night clubs, however, for a relatively small clientele tends to favour the drawing of lines on as liberal a scale as possible. Moreover patronage of the night club and the proprietary club does not necessarily imply social equality with other patrons as common membership of a social club would. It is interesting to notice that the pattern of night club life catering for the middle class only emerged after there had been a softening of class tensions and lines of discrimination. Previously this form of entertainment had been confined to the purely upper class groups on the one hand and the sailor-prostitute lower class type on the other.

THE UPPER CLASS AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION [a]

At the top of the social class ladder comes the European element. The impact of the British social system as a super-ordinate system upon the social system of Trinidad is nowhere more evident. The Governor, the political appointee of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, is one of the most important centres around which a certain exclusive social life develops.

The exclusiveness of this social life has, of course, been severely challenged. Within the past decade the Colonial Office and colonial reformers in Great Britain have shown increasing awareness of the importance of the human element in administration and of the need to move away as far as possible from the semblance of narrow racial exclusiveness with which the colonial administration has so frequently been charged. Consequently, Government House parties have been given to which the general public have been invited; on other occasions, parties in which those prominent in the Civil Service, for instance, have been invited, irrespective of racial identification. The effects of this have been to remove psychologically, the distance between the administration and the people. A Governor, Sir

[a] Based chiefly on experiences of Port of Spain and Curepe—St. Augustine.

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John Shaw, on his departure at the end of his term of service, had the steel band playing on the waterfront to bid him farewell. Similarly, a Colonial Secretary, in spite of strong opposition on the part of some politicians to this self-styled "unrepentant Imperialist", left the island in a blaze of glory and with the full sympathy of the steel-band movement (which is of lower class origin).

In spite of these developments, however, the break with the old exclusiveness is in some respects more superficial than real. Or rather, it reflects the intrusion of political considerations into the otherwise established system of social stratification. This, nevertheless, remains in its main outlines as fully established as before. For instance, the social life of the Governor in his private capacity continues to be a focal point of interest among social circles in the upper groups. His entertainment of private individuals at Government House still retains pride of place and importance in the social columns of the newspapers. The invitation to a small party at Government House still remains, in the eyes of those striving for social recognition, a rare but valued achievement and a sure means of validating one's social status.

The Governor is the head of a whole group of senior civil servants, who have been brought into the colony as persons chiefly responsible for its administration. The social role these play in the stratification system is similar indeed to that of the Governor, except that they are not called upon by the nature of their office to show in their private lives as liberal an attitude in social and class matters. The chief of these officers are the Colonial Secretary, the Financial Secretary and until recently, the Chief Justice of the colony. Not only does the official order of precedence lead to these people possessing pride of place, but, by the very nature of the colonial system, they enjoy high status; because they come bearing all the values implicit in the self-appointed task of ruling an empire.[a] They are part of the

[a] Some idea of the social class hierarchy when viewed in official terms can be gauged from the official proclamation of the Accession of Elizabeth II, Friday, 8th February, 1952:

"We therefore, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago, the Archbishop of Port of Spain, the Bishop of Trinidad, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Colony, members of the Executive Council of the Colony, the Puisne Judges of the Colony, the Speaker of the Legislative Council, the members of the Legislative Council of the Colony, The Mayors of Port of Spain, San Fernando, and Arima, the Ministers of the Church of Scotland, the Commissioners of the Commonwealth territories of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and India, the President of the Trinidad Ministerial Association, the Representatives of non-Christian religions, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, the Principal of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, the President of the Sugar Manufacturers Association, the President of the Petroleum Association, the President of the Agricultural Society...The President of the Trade Union Congress". "Trinidad Royal Gazette," February, 1952. (continued on p. 75)

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general Colonial Service, and have usually served their apprenticeship in other colonial areas. It is presumed, therefore, that they are worthy repositories of the Imperial and the colonial tradition. By definition they enjoy, and are accustomed to enjoy, the status which Britain as a country bore in relation to the subordinate communities of the Empire. The challenge on the political field to this relationship is intimately bound up with the whole system of social stratification. In the eyes of the educated Trinidadian the term "imperialist" has become more or less synonymous with "capitalism", "exploitation" and the old colonial regime. It is therefore illustrative of the difference in scale of values that the statement of the senior officials who described himself in public debate as an "unrepentant imperialist" was in the eyes of the radical element tantamount to declaring himself an enemy of the people.

The Governor and the leading official circle are only a small section of the Britishers in the colony. The number of resident Europeans is large. The total white population of the island is 15,283. Of these 8,971 are locally born whites while 6,312 are whites who were born abroad.

The numbers involved are important. In the West Indies, on the whole, the barriers between the white and other races have not developed, as in some countries, into rigid caste lines. However, it is to be observed that in those islands where the white population is small both absolutely and relatively to the total numbers of the population, the element of caste is least distinguishable. In large measure this is because if there are certain criteria on the basis of which it is desired to build a social life (such as level of education, wealth, standard of manners) it is difficult for an exclusive white "society" to develop. On the other hand where numbers are large the possibility of such exclusiveness developing is increased. In Trinidad the large number of whites is undoubtedly a factor making for separation between the races and for the accentuation of race and skin colour as the most important criteria on which the system of social stratification is built.

Not only are the numbers sufficiently large for a white "society" group to become the core of the upper class, the numbers are sufficiently large to allow the development of exclusive upper social groups in the individual communities within the island. Thus, the whites of the capital, Port of Spain, number 6,471 and form almost as large

Of interest is the precedence which the Catholic Archbishop enjoys over the Anglican Bishop, that of the Christian denominations over the representatives of non-Christian religions. The list also indicates how successful political careers in the municipalities, the Legislature, and the Trade Union Movement can lead to official recognition.

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a group as the East Indian (7,206). Similarly there are other areas, notably in the oilfields (Pointe-a-Pierre) and in St. Augustine, and at San Fernando, where the white groupings are sufficiently large to allow of more or less social exclusiveness. It would be wrong, none the less, to look upon the white group as returned by the census as a homogeneous group. There are major differentiations within it. The fact that Trinidad as a community enjoys lower status than the super-ordinate British social system of which it is a part means that additional status goes to all groups which can show an intimate connection with the super-ordinate social system. Hence, other things being equal, birth in the United Kingdom tends on that account to bring higher status within the white group.

The development of the British society within the white society is facilitated by real differences in outlook and cultural tradition. The effects of the super-ordinate system are in this respect working towards both a lessening of tension between groups and a broadening of class bonds. On the one hand, the existence of a core of Britishers in the island means that the individual moving into the colony has a group of Britishers into which he can be incorporated and upon which he can build his social life. Movement from Great Britain to the island or from another colony to the island necessarily results in the disruption of the individual's primary group relationship. The consequent psychological need for belonging, for the re-establishment of such relationships, has important consequences. "What do they know of England who only England know?" The individual Britisher moving into the society obtains superior status as of right and his psychological need seems to encourage him to accept this status and the whole mythology that goes with it. The desire for establishing anything further than the minimum of contact with local people and particularly with those not of the highest social status soon disappears. The common belief among coloured Trinidadians is that most Englishmen who come out to the Colony are liberal-minded until they get "spoilt", that is until they accept the definition of the social situation passed on to them by the already established white society. Linked with this there is the belief that those English officials or professionals who have had previous colonial experience are the ones most disposed to thing ill of the natives and hence are the most easily incorporated into the structure of the island society.

The impingement of the super-ordinate system of British society would appear, then, to be complex. The Englishman coming straight from Great Britain brings with him a universalistic scale of values to which he is pre-disposed to conform. On the other hand, the Englishman with colonial experience brings a more particularistic

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and ascriptive orientation and one in some respects more suited to the society of which he is becoming a member. These are merely generalizations, and personality factors are often involved, particularly in the degree to which individuals committed to a universalistic scale of values resist the incorporation into social groups founded on a different basis.

The impact of the administrative officer group becomes increasingly universalistic and achievement-oriented as the Colonial Office becomes committed to immediate steps on the road to self-government. Previously in the "old colonial regime", as one West Indian Governor has called it, the official could perhaps look without any sense of urgency on the problems of those people who were not able to govern themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. Now with the increased pace of political advance the relative status and importance of the colonial areas has shifted. The local politician, the irresponsible agitator of yesterday is the potential Commonwealth fellow-partner of tomorrow; and this must have its effect both psychologically on the British administration and structurally in other respects.

On the whole the Europeans coming into the island of Trinidad are of the higher social group. Even those who are perhaps less qualified find that their skills are in short supply while effectiveness of contact and the status which they enjoy as Britishers usually ensure rapid upward mobility. The class-distinctions which obtain in the United Kingdom still remain among the British group to a large extent, but the sharpness of the lines gets blurred.

This applies of course to the British among themselves. To the coloured population they are "all English"[a]. Phrases about the psychology and attitude of the Englishman coming out to the colonies are repeated without qualification. The dominant stereotype is that of the individual as an "imperialist" and of the British Empire as a part of the "vast system of outdoor relief" for the poor and the middle class who come out to a colonial paradise.

It is for this reason that the presence of large numbers of European sailors during the war helped to start a revolution in the values and standards of the mass of the coloured population. It had been thought previously that whiteness was synonymous with high social standing. The presence of so many drunken derelicts in the streets of Port of Spain helped greatly to reduce this impression. The understanding that in the United Kingdom and other European countries there was much differentiation in social stratification had been

[a] 'English' is used as equivalent of 'British'. Nice distinctions between English, Scottish, Welsh and even Irish are for the most part ignored.

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vouchsafed only to the small group who had travelled abroad mainly as students or soldiers. Now the general public was to share in the new orientation.

It was during the war period too that the presence of many Americans in humble capacities helped to familiarize people with the realities of existence of groups in the outside world. More specifically the presence of the soldiers of the "American Occupation", as it was popularly called, served to undermine not only the conception of white prestige but the conception of British prestige. Visitors to the several islands of the West Indies have noted how each metropolitan country has moulded its territories very largely unconsciously in its own image. The inhabitants, having no other vantage point of judgement, accept the "way of life" of their metropolitan government as necessarily superior. The presence of the Americans, the representatives of a nation with high prestige in the world and more particularly in the British West Indies, gave the people of Trinidad a point from which they could make comparison with the British. In the changing condition of the times this tended to be an unfavourable one. The intrusion of this element from outside played indeed the most important part in disrupting the pre-established order of the island society. The Americans were by no means the only white groups besides the British in the island. The other groups, however, were either too small or already placed in the social structure. Thus the Portuguese formed a definite ethnic pocket within the European group. They were not easily assimilated into the dominant European group and the structure of a Portuguese club based not upon nationality, but upon ethnic affiliations, is a reflection of that position. In the eyes of the non-white population the Portuguese were hardly even considered as belonging to the real upper stratum. For one thing, so many of the Portuguese were traditionally engaged in the grocery and rum shop trade that the status ascribed to these individuals tended to be carried over to the group as a whole. The existence of the Portuguese club seemed evidence to the coloured population of an attempt to establish a wedge high up in the social scale through the development of an ethnic exclusiveness and consequent separation from the coloured section of the population.

There had also been among the French creole group a traditional opposition to the Britisher. The coloured population of the island has to such an extent become dominant in the political life of the island that the issue of Trinidadians vs. Englishmen or Britishers tends to be regarded in terms of coloured vs. white. However, this has not always been the case. The radical coloured intelligentsia has merely inherited a tradition from the white creole group. The

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agitation of the 19th century against Englishmen and in favour of Trinidadians was not based on colour, but on the fact that jobs and influence were being given to the metropolitan subjects and not to the white Trinidadians who considered themselves competent to undertake the task.

The opposition of this group had not proved sufficient to destroy the prestige of the Britisher. Indeed, due to political pressure the French creole element assumed a position of importance in the central administration while the professions and occupations were in fact then open to free competition. Their struggle was really for status within the island colonial society. They were themselves perhaps more conscious of the values of this society springing as they did so largely from the planter-group with its inheritance of the slave-and-plantation tradition. Their existence and their opposition to the British could not therefore act as a point of departure for the criticism of the whole basis of the social order, as subsequent contact with the American scale of values did. The French creole element being more firmly rooted in the soil and having in many cases a family tradition with which they were associated, tended to be even more strongly infused with an aristocratic tradition and with a particularistic scale of values. A social order based on an ascriptive rather than an achievement basis was not uncongenial to them. In fact, much of their opposition to the British sprang from the fact that the ascriptive status which they claimed as of right was being impugned.

The other single large 'European' group was the Venezuelan. The Venezuelan group enjoyed higher status than the coloured members of the local community. (Venezuela had been one avenue of employment to which people migrated and was hence regarded as a big and progressive country). It was a society fundamentally white in racial composition. The group was divided into those native Venezuelans in political exile whose emotional ties were still largely bound up with the fatherland, and those who had decided to settle in Trinidad permanently. There were among the Venezuelans a few of coloured origin. Among them there was a strong desire not to be associated with Trinidad since this would immediately bring them the inferior status of the Negro in the island social order. They preferred their group affiliation to be identified as "panol" or "Spanish". This group served indeed as a certain rallying point for the criticism of the island social structure. "If this were a Republic", "If this were Venezuela", "If this was down the Main",—such remarks were frequently heard in Trinidad. Sojourners in the area were keenly aware of the differences in social structure, and accustomed the country to thinking "progressively" of a republic as opposed to

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the conservative outward trappings of the distant British monarchy. However, Venezuela also became identified in the minds of the public with harsh and arbitrary rule, with wrongful imprisonment and the like. The policy of the Republican government of restricting immigration also caused criticism. And at a recent unveiling of a monument of Simon Bolivar, members of a Negro Youth group demonstrated their opposition to what they denounced as the racial policies of the Republic. Venezuelans were also associated with being "bad", with possessing an inability to control their tempers. This volatility of temperament, although not entirely alien to the personality of the Trinidadian, violated one of the important criteria, "propriety of behaviour", which was used in the ordering of the social structure.

Such criticisms as were levelled at the British group helped to undermine the influence of the super-ordinate British social system, but it would be wrong to minimise its importance and its influence. Viewed from the vantage point of the lower social groups the British would be lumped as being perhaps one of a group of white people who collectively enjoyed high status. The mass of people were aware of differentiations within this white group, but tended to interpret them in terms of superiorities and inferiorities which did not violate this superior status. In years past sides would be taken on behalf of the United States as against Britain in arguments as to which had the more powerful navy, which had contributed more toward winning the First World War. Similarly one of the important topics of discussions centred around which was the superior method, from the Negro point of view—the American or the British system. The latter was idenfied as one of "preaching democracy and practising hypocrisy" which brought illusion and defeat to the Negro as a group, and was contrasted with the American system of open discrimination which provided special opportunity within the segregated social group. Other ways in which the debate took place was in domestics expressing a preference for employment with one or other group. Indeed a recent Calypso seriously dealt with the reason why the singer preferred his girl friend to become friendly with an American rather than with an Englishman, since the latter in contrast to the former would give a "lot of diplomacy but no currency".

Nevertheless, the influence of this small group of administration is still a profound and important one. To a large extent it is the acceptance of the superiority of the British system which they represent, and the acceptance of the links that they have contrived both politically and socially, that keeps the divergent social groups together, that prevents particularism from becoming dominant.

The Governor is the personal representative of the King in the

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island. In Trinidad society, particularly in lower middle-class and lower class society, there is none of the fervent interest in the affairs of the Royal Family which is so marked a feature in the United Kingdom. In fact, periodically the Press calls attention to the fact that cinema audiences, particularly the lower-class members of the "pit", show disloyalty by not paying a proper regard to the national anthem, or the portrait of the reigning monarch. Nevertheless the portrait of the King or the Queen rivals the "Sacred Heart of Jesus" as the most widespread picture to be found in Trinidad homes. Opposition on the political level has nearly always been made in terms of presenting the grievances of His Majesty's loyal and law-abiding people against an administration presumably violating His Majesty's will.

The existence of the British social system as the super-ordinate system implied a moral commitment to, and a close organic connection with a universalistic scale of values. The social structure of the United Kingdom has always laid some stress on aristocratic features, which to some slight extent vitiate the universalistic achievement-values upon which it was dominantly based. Some of this tendency to carry over ascriptive status values was projected into the colonial empire and its administration. None the less the fact that the Secretary of State for the Colonies was directly responsible to a democratically run parliament for the administration of the colonial areas meant that an electorate accustomed in large measure to universalistic values could, through their representatives, call to account the Secretary of State for the Colonies for any act of oppression or gross violation of the accepted code in the colonial area.

It would be easy to exaggerate the importance of the moral factor involved here. Interest in colonial affairs has been notoriously small in Parliament. Specific acts could be questioned in the field of administration alone. Nevertheless, there was a feeling that His Majesty's Government was responsible for the general welfare of its inhabitants, and whenever social conditions spilled over into general unrest and seemed to show that the administration had failed to ensure the conditions necessary for stable government (law and order) Commissions of enquiry were sent out.

Another point to be remembered is that the moral factor only worked within narrow limits. There was necessarily a discrepancy between the ideal and the realities of colonial administration, between the promise and the performance. In those areas where European settlement has been large (e.g. parts of Africa) and the divergence in cultural tradition is great, the effects of the moral factor and the connection with the universalistic achievement scale of values have been at a minimum. However, in the West Indies the disappearance

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of the greater part of the African culture of the slave population led to an easy assimilation of the major aspects of Western culture among substantial portions of the population. Moreover, the fact that slavery was abolished in large measure on account of moral factors, through the agitation of humanitarians and morally-interested persons, aided by the general increasingly democratic and equalitarian ideas of the day, meant that the question of obligation to the inhabitants of the area played a more dominant part than in some other areas[a] As if to assuage feelings of guilt and in order to meet hostile criticisms, the general attitude of British opinion to emancipation had been to stress the moral factor involved in emancipation and to stress the "unprecedented generosity" of the British Parliament in compensating the planters in order to bring about abolition.

Nor does the criticism put forward by Simey (39) that the post-emancipation administration failed to give any integration or leadership in the building of the new society for the emancipated slaves, really rule out the importance of the moral factor. His remarks are wise, but it is after-the-event wisdom. At best the imperial system could only be the projection of Britain abroad. The emerging "universalistic-achievement" scale of values was brought in on a philosophy and an ideology which stressed individualism and deplored unnecessary state intervention. It ignored the organic as compared to the mechanical elements in society. Sociology and social anthropology were yet unborn.

Certainly in the context of Trinidad society belief in the efficacy of the moral factor played an important part in holding the society together, and a certain mythology even developed as a rationalization of this belief. Thus there was always a tendency to lay the blame for any mistakes of policy, not on the Governor, but on his local advisers. The whole policy of the administration seemed to depend, in the eyes of the politicians, upon whether the Governor came "from the top shelf" or not. There were elements of real appreciation of the forces involved; but it is difficult not to see in it a compromise-formation, an ideological means by which the local politicians still committed to reform within the colonial system sought to explain and in this way accept the discrepancy between the promise and the performance. Another way in which the moral factor entered was through the right of petition to the Governor, and through the Governor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In many respects this was like appealing from Caesar to Caesar, since it was the man on the spot who in the last resort had to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to place the facts before him. Yet the system

[a] For discussions of these questions in relation to emancipation see Burn (4), Mellor (24), Williams (54), Hcwse (17).

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was fervently believed in, and it offered to the radical politician a means of complaint against the administration which none the less worked only within the acceptance of the functioning colonial society. Thus criticism, so far from alienating the radical from the social system, helped to bind him ever more firmly to the system.

The individual Englishman coming out to the island also showed himself freer of the narrow scale of values which permeated the island society. This was so for some time in most cases, and in some cases permanently. The contact of these Englishmen with the middle-class group helped to perpetuate the belief in "good" Englishmen corrupted by the evil structure of colonial society, and hence predisposed people to accept the views of the Secretary of State as the supreme court of judgement, and the British scale of values as those of a superior social system.

Another important way in which the British social system affected the particularistic-ascriptive scale of values was through the visits of Trinidadians abroad. This had serious consequences for the social structure of the island society, which we shall examine later. Here it is only to be noted that several students returned to the colony with English wives. The barriers of caste which tended to be erected between the local white and the native coloured group could never harden completely, as long as there was free access to Great Britain, and while there was inter-racial marriage between coloured people and members of the highest ranking social group.

Although a great many of the British "official" white population were sojourners for a day, or, as the radical politicians loved to call them, birds of passage, this group left a permanent mark on the social structure of the island. The personnel of offices, the individuals, might change, but the symbols for which the British society and the British colonial administration stood were always present. As we have seen, Government House invitations became symbolic of high social status. But Government House society was only one means by which the acceptance of the super-ordinate social system was indicated and by which the members of this group became recognized as the official class. There was, as already mentioned, the order of precedence at official functions. Above all there was the role of the Governor as distributor of symbolic rewards within the social system. These rewards were never given in terms of the island society. They were always given by His Majesty the King, and pertained to status not only within the island society, but within the British Empire as a whole. They ranged from knighthood to the humble M. B. E. Only in a few instances did they possess merely "local" significance. Such was the

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case with the Colonial Police Medal, and even here the significance was colonial—Empire-wide and not island-wide. For the rest the honours were awarded with all the trappings customary in the United Kingdom. They appeared in the Birthday Honours List, in the New Years Honours List. If a knighthood was granted the investiture was accompanied by the same pomp and ceremony as if the "island award" had been made to an Englishman in England; and a voyage to the "Mother Country" on this account would become necessary.

The system of these awards, it would appear, started as a means of linking the British members of the colonial society with the "Mother Country". It was a form of recognition of their work for the Empire, a recognition that, although in exile from the social group with which they were most identified, they were not forgotten. It showed their work was duly appreciated without there being any loss of status. In the broadcast of the reigning Monarch to the Colonial Empire on the King's Birthday, references to the Empire often appeared to the colonial listener to be addressed to the English settler and administrator in the colonies, rather than to the population as a whole.

However, the system of rewards, of grant of public esteem, has been extended so as to include the whole of the island society. The particular way in which the rewards are given is indeed a reflection of compromise between a universalistic-achievement value system and a particularistic-ascriptive one. Thus Queen's Counsel (in the past King's Counsel) enjoy a status which is Empire-wide, as the title indicates. The honour is awarded only to outstanding members of the legal profession. In the field of the professions there has been more or less open access and consequently rewards are given to people of all shades of colour and of any ethnic affiliation. The award, however, is not achieved as of right, automatically. It is made by the reigning monarch at the discretion of his or her advisers. On the other hand knighthood in Trinidad has never so far been conferred upon any dark-skinned person. The conferring of such status would indeed imply an open challenge to the system of social stratification and might immediately involve the political authority in the difficult field of race-relations in the "private" sphere of social life. This is in marked contrast to other areas of the Empire and of the West Indies, where difference in social structure has made it possible to confer knighthood upon dark-skinned persons without endangering the whole principle upon which the social structure is ordered.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the last person but one knighted in Trinidad, [a] was a light-skinned coloured

[a] The "Successor Knight" is an influential white businessman and politician.

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person since deceased who on account of his legal and political influence had already achieved something of an entree into the white society of the island. The distribution of rewards should not be thought to coincide directly with the social stratification existing in the island, but only indirectly reflects it. Nevertheless, just as it was commonly accepted in the society that a black man could not, or would not, be made a knight, so the fact that the lesser awards tended to be concentrated among the coloured group led to the popular tag "Member of the Black Elite" being substituted for the M.B.E. The term M.B.E. became in fact a satirical way of referring to those members of the coloured population who had achieved prominence and were striving for increased social status and importance.

The fact that these awards were made to all racial sections of the community meant that they served as a unifying force. Even more important, they were awarded for all forms of public service. From the point of view of its effect on social stratification, it offered one more means of social mobility by offering a field where achievement values, if not altogether paramount, were at least recognized. The outstanding teacher, social worker, scientist, etc., who made an important contribution to the development of the society, could gain public recognition and enhance social status in this fashion.

Although achievement values were present, the important thing to note is the linkage between these and the discretionary power of allocation which remained in the hands of the authorities. This made it possible really to adjust the system of awards to the pre-existing state of society as well as to integrate the political structure with the rest of society. In the first place there was a fear on the part of those who were anxious to win recognition that political opposition to the autocratic regime would act as a hindrance. Knowledge of this fear among the educated public led to the belief that the public awards were really less concerned with recognizing merit than with the achievement of political stability. Secondly, the system of "King's Honours" was only one means by which the Governor could apportion awards which showed public esteem and therefore involved the whole system of social stratification. The other means was the power of nomination to the Legislative Council which the Governor possessed. The popular conception of the nominated member of the Legislative Council was that of a stooge of Government who obediently acquiesced in whatever measures were proposed by the Government. Whatever factual basis this may or may not have had, the way in which the use of the nominating power was interpreted showed that it did serve effectively as a means of inducing conformity to a certain general pattern of expectations.

The Governor also possessed certain other methods of awarding

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public recognition. Committees of various sorts had to be formed for the purpose of advising on important matters; nominations had to be made on certain public bodies. Service on such committees and such boards, in addition to whatever rewards it brought in its own right in the way of public esteem, could serve as a stepping stone to higher honours.

Although all of these were public honours, they nevertheless had an important influence in the sphere of private life. In the case of specific awards, such as the Colonial Police Medal, the low status ranking of the individual decorated limited its interpretation in terms of general public esteem. Perhaps its function in this case was to single out a special group, not generally held in high esteem, for recognition in such a way that it would bind the loyalty of that group without in any way detracting from the scarcity value and high esteem which the other official decorations enjoyed.

THE WHITE CREOLE GROUP

The non-British white group enjoyed, with the exception of certain groups such as the Portuguese and the Venezuelans, high social status. Here again there was overlapping with the British group. Although the status of the Britisher coming from the Mother Country tended to be high, and therefore permitted him to enjoy higher status if other things were equal, the fact was that often other things were not equal. The universalistic achievement pattern invaded the British colonial service even if it did so less effectively than in the case of the general Civil Service. This meant a career open to people of humble origins. There was also, until recently, a marked tendency towards bringing Englishmen out to the islands for relatively minor positions: this was preferred to the alternative of sending people abroad to be trained. Although the stratification system of the island in its broad outlines was based primarily on race and skin-colour, there were within the separate racial groups, and affecting the mobility, such as there was, between groups, certain other values recognized, partly on an ascriptive, partly on an achievement basis. Thus family background, general standard of education, of manners and taste, wealth—all these were factors which meant that the British group, although representing the super-ordinate system and being therefore of key significance, could not stand out as a social class group, distinct and entirely separate from the other whites. In social life they were to a large extent joined. The more exclusive social clubs based their principles of exclusion not so much on ancestry, as on skin-colour. However, if skin-colour was found in any particular case to be an inadequate criterion for not allowing membership, it was disallowed on other

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more general grounds. The exclusive white clubs were white clubs in the sense that they excluded totally, or with very few exceptions, the coloured group. It was not "white" in the sense that any white person who applied for membership could automatically be accepted.

Further, although the British group tended to be for the most part "birds of passage", many settled in the island permanently, so that many of the local white families still preserved family connections with the Mother Country.

None the less, there were differences between the groups which made those whites not of United Kingdom origin stand out as a group. The prevalence of cheap domestic labour has had in this respect important social consequences. With respect to the British group it has been pointed out that in the past their contacts with coloured peoples in the colonial areas have frequently been through the medium of domestic servants, and that intimate social contact with the coloured members of the colonial society was reduced to a minimum. In the case of the non-British white, the fact that the domestic was frequently, indeed usually, given a great deal of control over the children meant that patterns of speech were frequently taken over by the children of the local white group. Similarly, the white person who lived in the area and decided to take up residence, usually reconciled himself to the fact that his children would be schooled locally and here the local white social-class pattern entered into choice of school. In these circumstances there was little possibility of seclusion for those who decided to reside in the island. In order to obtain the best secondary education that the island had to offer, the settler had frequently to allow his children to mingle freely with the coloured children attending such schools.

There have always been tendencies to racial exclusiveness in education. On the nursery school level this is easy to obtain, although sometimes such exclusiveness can be achieved only partially; that is, by allowing the children to be taught by coloured mistresses. Racial exclusiveness as a policy in education was of course completely ruled out by the universalistic scale of values. This pattern of local education was quite different from that of the British administrator who, largely on account of his mobility and liability to sudden transfer and promotion, usually had his children educated in the United Kingdom. One consequence of this that is of interest from the point of view of social stratification, is that a difference in speech patterns between the local white and the British is quite apparent. Further, there are, as we shall see, certain cultural patterns, certain expressive ceremonies which serve to give unity and articulativeness to the whole society. There is in some respects a common core of culture, shared by all the members of the society, British, local white and the other

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inhabitants of the island. There are, however, certain cultural elements which are shared only by the local whites and other Trinidadians and few which the coloured population alone enjoy. In the case of the speech pattern, it happened often that the creole patois served as a unifying bond and a point of identification between these groups. Many of those educated locally, not only found that the speech pattern of the English was different, but that the whole idiom of special usage, which frequently interests and sometimes baffles the stranger, was open to them. There is no difficulty or barrier of communication between the white Trinidadian and the coloured Trinidadian, but it is known that Britishers newly resident in the island have sometimes found it difficult to understand the speech of the Trinidadian.

Long residence and early childhood upbringing mean that the significant emotional experiences of the Trinidadian white are rooted in the social and physical environment of the island. This may pass unnoticed as long as he remains within the island, and he may retain his fondness for, and identification with, the British social system. However, it sometimes happens that these white individuals on going abroad to England to study (or travel) realize for the first time that in many respects they are different from the whites of the United Kingdom. A sense of nationalism and a development of ambivalent feelings towards their island home as well as towards Great Britain, very similar indeed to the reaction of the coloured Trinidadian, often result.

The existence of so many shades of colour between the pure black and the pure white means that frequently an individual or group is accepted into white society as white and inter-marries with that group. The white group therefore includes among its members people who sometimes bear fairly marked Negroid characteristics but are by definition white. It is an indication of the hostility that the semi-caste barrier of the society creates, as well as of the high value that is placed on skin-colour, that it is considered highly derogatory by the coloured section of the population to assert that some member of the local white group is not really white. The term "Trinidad white" is consequently not used merely as a means of identifying the place of origin of the individual being described, but frequently, too, as indicating that the person is not really white but passes for white in Trinidad society. At the same time, the fact that the caste lines are not hard and fast seems to be partly responsible for the absence of any mythology which leads people to deny their status as Trinidadians. Thus there does not seem to be any automatic assumption that the creole Trinidadian white is suspected as being coloured, as apparently has developed in other colonial areas, although precisely

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because of the definition of class lines the individual's racial identity is frequently called into question. In this context the term "Trinidad white" as used by the coloured population would frequently imply a lower social status than British white. This is indeed the more usual use of the term.

The awareness of the difference between the "white" creole and the British immigrant seems to have a long history. Daniel Hart in his "Historical and Statistical Account of the Island of Trinidad" takes pains in listing the members of the public service to label those who were "natives of this island" (15). The Civil Service of the island was then (1866) predominantly British, even with regard to the most junior appointments. Only 27 out of 113 appointments had so far been made to local persons.

On the political level the difference between the creoles and the British had deep roots. There was first of all the difference in culture and tradition about which a compromise had to be reached. This was done by introducing British Laws gradually in response to the increasing "Anglicization" of the community and at the same time offering some compensation by recognizing the importance of the Roman Catholic Church in the community and by raising it to almost official status and to the same footing as the Church of England. Secondly, there was the difference between the interests of the two groups. The British came into the island as a reforming ameliorating group interested in improving the welfare of the slaves, whereas the French-creole element who formed the bulk of the white upper group were the people being reformed. This hostility between the various elements reached its point of maximum hostility at the time of emancipation. But during the period of Indian immigration there was also the clash between the local planter and the interests of the Imperial power in enforcing regulations which would ensure minimum standards for the identured Indians. Increasingly, however, there was a merger of the interests of the creole planter group and the interests of the bureaucracy. And the main cleavage that developed in the society on the political level was between the coloured middle class and the cocoa planters on the one hand against the sugar planters and sugar manufacturers on the other. The Trinidad Trade and Taxation Commission of the 1880's, for instance, was concerned with the problem of examining whether the system of financing Indian immigration was not unduly unfavourable to the cocoa proprietors and the general population. The coloured middle class, which obtained support from the working class of the towns, looked upon the Government and the planters as one social group, to suit whom the affairs of the community were organized.

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There was, further, a gradual fusion of the British and the creole planter class. New capital was necessary for the reorganization of the sugar industry and this had to come from abroad. In the inter-war years, and particularly in the radicalism of the 'thirties and early 'forties, there was no longer an agitation against the sugar planters so much as against the Government accepting dictates from the Catholic-organized Chamber of Commerce. The latter had become the favourite target of attack and was defined as utterly reactionary. The creole element, too, invaded the Civil Service on a large scale and held most of the senior positions not occupied by the officers of British origin. Also they were placed high in the hierarchy of laymen within the Catholic fold. It was popularly believed that transfer of one Director of Education to another colony after he had proposed increased state control of education was due to the influence of the French creole element, and similarly, when the ban on the importation of the publications of the Jehovah Witnesses sect was introduced, Roman Catholic and French creole influence was alleged. Hence it was that in radical circles it was occasionally declared that "these French creoles rule Trinidad."

The well-established families among the creole group represented in part an aristocratic tradition. Certainly, their connections with the community on an upper-class basis over several generations led to a certain assurance of outlook and an ability to defend their position. It is presumably amongst this group that there will most likely be an historical tradition within the family going back for several generations. Certainly, the concerns of the Historical Society and superficial observation would seem to bear this out. The "well-known" and "respected" family names in the island are in the main those of the white creole families. [a]

In their religion, the creole group differed from the British white group, though occasionally there has been a Roman Catholic governor of the island. In family organization it would be difficult in default of specific research to tell what differences in family organization there are as between the two groups. Certainly, as regards illegitimacy and extra-marital unions, their norms are essentially the same

[a] Dr. Tothill, an Englishman who had resided in the colony for some years, wrote: "In some areas in Trinidad the whole neighbourhood is populated by French creoles, all of the same name, and a club at Spring Vale, Couva, had at one time 80% of its members with the same surname DeVerteuil. One night at that club, I saw 11 DeVerteuils, all standing at a row in the bar, all the same height, with the same hair-colouring, and the same DeVerteuil nose. The chief family names are DeVerteuils, Rostant, DeGannes, DeLa Bastide and Pampellone. These French creoles run a very exclusive society among themselves. Some of the younger generation, unfortunately, have lost the seigneurial manners of their forbears. Some of these people never remember to pay the doctor. Their one idea is to live beyond their means and have a good time."—"Doctor's Office".

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as those for both the British group and the coloured middle-class group.

As regards their attitudes to birth-control and pre-marital intercourse, the British probably preserved a more "liberal" attitude. The influence of the cinema, the war, the presence of the Americans, have probably in the younger generation eliminated much of the differences that existed between these groups. Among most sections of the community that come into contact with Britishers it is noted that there were smaller families than in the other sections of the community.

We have seen how the white creoles, because they were domiciled in the island, came more into contact with the local population. The relationship with domestics within the family accustomed the young of this group to dealing with coloured people. In this way the status of the latter tended to be defined as menial and the existence of so much domestic service no doubt encouraged the perpetuation of a caste-like regime. At the same time the "maids", the domestics in charge of the children, possessed a great deal of authority over the young, and sometimes affectionate ties of great strength developed between a domestic who had "raised the whole family"[a] and the children.

This may have been a contributing factor to the development of sexual relations with coloured women of the lower class. Certainly when a bastardy ordinance was introduced in 1882 there were petition and counter-petition on it. The concern was not primarily with the regulation of family relationships. Those who were opposed to the introduction of the bastardy law feared that men would become saddled with the responsibility of bringing up children that were not theirs and that its introduction would lead to unwarranted allegations against respectable citizens. This fear would seem to have been the result of the contact between upper-class men and lower-class women. Relationships of this kind seem to have continued into the 20th century and there are still creole whites who are reported to have children scattered widely. However, such relationships have been reduced, presumably for the same reason as amongst the middle-class groups, through the more liberal and permissive attitudes to sex which have come about on the part of the women.[b]

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[a] For instance, in the famous Grant family (Canadian in origin) this was the case.

[b] One of the most popular "masks" at Carnival time was the woman who, armed with a baby-doll, approached men for money in support of their children. The people approached were frequently middle class and upper class who responded with embarrassed amusement.

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THE COLOURED MIDDLE-CLASS GROUP

From the point of view of biological origin the middle class is comprised chiefly of a mixture of European and African. There is some slight intermixture of Chinese and an even slighter admixture of Amerindian elements. To use the word coloured to describe this middle class is to use a respectable word. On account of sensitivity towards race, certain words which designate colour have come to possess derogatory meanings. Naturally the term "nigger" is never used as a form of self-description by the middle class. Objection to the term Negro is taken in a few cases. The echoes of the American Negro controversy as to whether Negro should be spelt with a capital "N" or not, or whether the term Afro-American ought to be used, have vaguely reached these shores. The term "black" also tends to carry with it derogatory connotations and in general the term "dark" is not used except when a hostile difference is intended.

The coloured middle class is not of recent origin either biologically or socially. Under the regime of slavery the "Free Coloured" were a group which sprang up largely from the relations of masters with female slaves. They suffered from many disabilities and the struggle for equal rights with whites ensued.[a] Mr. Daniel Hart (15) in his account of Trinidad mentions Dr. Eugene Phillipp who on his return from England took up the cudgels on behalf of his free coloured brethren to ensure them certain rights. He also mentions a brother of the doctor who had recently died and the whole tone of his description is one of identification of the free people of colour under the regime of slavery with the coloured middle class of the period of which he was writing..Whatever historical continuity there was or is, this is not present in the consciousness of the contemporary middle class. None the less, in view of the limited social mixing which takes place between white and coloured, there can be little doubt that most of the coloured group had their biological origin in the time of slavery [b].

[a] An account of some of those disabilities is given in W. H. Wyndham, "The Atlantic & Slavery".

[b] The free coloured population during the regime of slavery formed a large proportion of the total population. The figures given in the Report of the Census for 1946 are as follows:

Year	Total	White	Coloured	Indian	Chinese	Slaves
1783	2763	126	295	2032		310
1797	17712	2151	4474	1078		10009
1800	22850	2359	4408	1071		15012
1805	30076	2434	5801	1733		20108
1810	31143	2487	6269	1659		20728
1815	38348	3219	9563	1147		24329
1820	41348	3707	13965	910	29	22738
1828	42262	3310	14980	727	12	23230
1831	41675	3319	16285	762	7	21302

Table D Estimated Population of Trinidad 1783-1831, West Indian Census 1941 Part G. Trinidad and Tobago p. ix.

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One possible reason for this lack of a sense of continuity is that the middle class of the island at emancipation was so small that the subsequent immigrant groups quite swamped it. The bulk of the present middle class groups have their historical origin in the other islands of the area and most of them have distant kinship ties with families there.

At present there is almost a caste line drawn as between the white and the coloured section of the population. Inter-marriage between a white Trinidadian and a coloured Trinidadian hardly ever takes place and even more rare is the inter-marriage between a white upper-class Trinidadian and someone of the coloured middle-class. Such marriages as actually take place are usually between a coloured middle class Trinidadian man and an Englishwoman. Occasionally there is the marriage of an Englishman to a coloured woman. Usually these marriages result from visits abroad where most of the inhabitants receive higher education. But sometimes the marriage takes place in Trinidad between a European and a coloured woman of high social standing.

There is no legal barrier to inter-marriage such as exists in other areas with a similar background history of slavery.[a] The couples who do inter-marry tend to form a group among themselves. To a limited extent they receive acceptance on the part of the white group. Usually there is easy social access if such is desired to the coloured middle-class group. However the tendency of the inter-racial couples has been to gravitate towards the upper social classes. Socially they served the function of helping to bridge the gap between the white upper classes and the rest of the society, since the European wives were often the only whites with whom members of the coloured middle class came into intimate personal contact.

The acceptance of the inter-racial couples by the white society was never general. Among the more broad-minded of the whites there was limited visiting, but an inter-racial marriage did not automatically open the semi-exclusive social clubs. In this respect general social esteem was an additional feature which together with light skin or the features associated with it might gain acceptance. Even among those whites who maintained intimate social contact there appears to have been disapproval; childless couples were ascribed to incompatibility of mating and there was always some concern about the problem of "the children".

Although the social clubs were organized along lines of the hierarchy of class there existed, and they are increasing in number, social groups where both white and coloured mix. Thus in the dis-

[a] In parts of the U.S.A., for example.

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trict of St. Augustine-Curepe where there is a white society which is known to be quite exclusive, there is an hotel in which the individuals of the middle class can meet and mix. Contacts here tend to be perfunctory, but psychologically this seems to satisfy the need of those individuals on both sides of the barrier who disagree with the system of racial separation. However, these contacts are well insulated from the main stream of social life, and it is well recognized by both groups that this must be so. Even where contacts develop into ties of friendship they cannot develop into the full reciprocity characteristic of social life among equals.

Among the coloured middle-class groups the attitude towards the white wife of the Trinidadian has always been very ambivalent. On the one hand there is admiration, very often unconscious, for the person who has been able to acquire a white wife, while on the other there are expressions, becoming increasingly violent, of hostility towards the Englishwoman. This hostility finds expression in the jokes that were current about how a husband was mistaken for a porter when carrying his wife's bags, or of how the husband drove the car while his wife sat in the back, or (in better authenticated accounts) of how the individuals named became on account of certain incidents the centre of public gossip.

More recently this antagonism has increased, particularly amongst the women, and against the women. For one thing the "best" of the coloured middle-class, the scholarship-winners, the professional men, are the group from whom the inter-racial husband is usually drawn. There is resentment against the Englishwoman who has deprived the coloured woman of her chance of a man. The feelings of inferiority due to racial identification are awakened and the roots of the resentment seem to lie largely in jealousy. The forms which this resentment takes are many and various. There is usually an attempt to derogate from the status of the white wife by alleging that she was of inferior status in the home country and yet was attempting to assume upper-class status in the island society. Sometimes, of course, this was true, but one can rest assured that unless the white wife possesses some external badge of status, such as a degree or a profession, it will be alleged that she was probably a "barmaid" in England. There is always the suspicion (based, perhaps, upon the conception of the self as essentially unlovable) that the European person is only making use of the native. The slightest *faux pas*, such as the use of the word "native", for example (whether in perfect innocence or not), is likely to be interpreted as gross evidence of prejudice. Similarly the slightest sexual indiscretion or incident that can be interpreted as a sexual indiscretion, becomes an immediate cause of gossip.

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Sometimes the problem is accentuated because of cultural differences. Thus the attitudes towards birth-control of the coloured middle class are likely to be sharply different from those of an Englishwoman. In the metropolitan country birth control is taken for granted and publicly discussed. In many middle class homes in Trinidad (particularly of course in Roman Catholic ones) birth control is regarded with horror; and even in homes where it is practised discussion of it is tabooed except among intimates. Consequently it is not surprising that when an English wife mentioned in conversation at a formal dinner that she would have to stop using birth-control in order to beat the income tax, this remark was greeted with shocked horror, and retailed in private as evidence of the individual's wantonness.

This cultural difference is not identified or appreciated even by the middle class individual and there is a tendency to interpret the phenomenon in purely racial terms. Thus, in Trinidad, where there is a cheap supply of domestic labour, there is little need for the husband to help in household chores. The running of the home is sharply defined as being in the women's sphere. On the other hand in Great Britain domestic service is so expensive and rare, and the working wife so common, that it is not unusual to see men helping in the home, pushing perambulators, and doing other domestic tasks. Any such action, or attitude suggesting that such action could even be contemplated, on the part of the West Indian man married to a European is interpreted as an indication that he is permitting his wife to "push him around".

Naturally the difficulties involved in making an inter-racial marriage work are tremendous and the opportunities for gossip about the marriage innumerable. There is, of course, a tendency on the part of the partner of both groups to fall back on the social group to which he or she is accustomed. On the part of the white wife this arises from the disruption of her primary-group relationships and the consequent psychological need to fall back upon the familiar and the known in unfamiliar circumstances. In part, too, it flows from the resentment shown towards her by many coloured middle class women. In some cases, where the marriage has been conceived by the man chiefly as a means of social mobility, friendship between his wife and the white group is welcomed and even encouraged by him.

On the part of the coloured man, part of the problem arises from the fact that his marriage may have arisen from psychological needs due to the fact that he was, as a young adult, a stranger in a foreign land. Back at home his psychological needs may be different and

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he may feel the rush of old associations overpowering him. Further, although in some respects he achieves higher status by his marriage than is usual, there is present a feeling of guilt at having married someone from outside his kind, and from moving in a certain circle to which many of his former friends and family are not invited. In some individuals there is need to assuage this feeling of guilt. This is done by associating to a greater or lesser degree with coloured folk. Sometimes this takes the form of inviting one or a few coloured people to their gatherings or by more intimate contact with their coloured friends. In this way they attempt to prove to themselves and to the society that they are not prejudiced, that their marriage and friendship ties in the European group need not be given the interpretation which it is customary for the coloured group to give. Such intimate association often places the husband within reach of a coloured girl who may wish to show superiority over her white rival by being able to steal the affections of the husband. Further, the extremely high status which the professional man enjoys (and the inter-racial husband is usually a professional man) facilitates the development of extra-marital amours.

Often the man resents the fact that there is not full acceptance on the part of the dominant group, and this sometimes is worked off by a nationalist political attitude which is combined with a hankering after white company. However, the incursion into politics is frequently followed by counter-attacks by opponents on the man's private life. And these incidents may have important consequences for the marital union. Even where the man concerned is not formally married to a European but carries on a liaison with a white woman, this may be used against him.

Within the middle class groups there are many "shade" discriminations. "Shade" is, however, only the primary physical factor upon which this differentiation is made. It is the most obvious of the racial characteristics setting off the white groups and hence has become the main criterion of differentiation. There are other subsidiary physical characteristics which usually, but not necessarily, accompany changes in skin-colour. Thus the possession of European type hair, and the absence of Negroid features, help to overcome darkness of skin in some cases. The closer the approximation to European features, the more likely is the individual man both to get acceptance as an individual and to achieve mobility by marrying someone even closer to the European in skin colour, hair and facial characteristics.

Hence arises the extreme concern over the quality of the hair, the possession of "good hair" being universally desired. By "good"

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hair is not meant the aesthetically pleasing; or rather the aesthetically pleasing is identified as the "straight hair" of the European, and only something which approximates to this can be classified as good. Similarly European features and the absence of thick lips are considered good. And the judgment of "good-looking for a black man" expresses both the sentiment that the black man cannot in general be good-looking and that even within the category of black men there is a necessary differentiation between those who possess and those who do not possess European-like features.

To give the impression that skin-colour, hair and facial characteristics (the straight nose, the thick lip) are used independently, would be wrong. There is an over-all composite judgment of the individual into which even the "quality" of the skin may enter. Among the middle-class this differentiation into shades is reflected not only in marriage choices and the intimate social contact of visiting but also, as we have seen, in the organized social clubs and sports teams.

In much of its organization the skin-colour barriers within the coloured group functioned in the same way as the barrier between white and coloured, but were not as noticeable since biological intermixture had proceeded to such an extent that mobility for light-skinned persons in the lower rungs of the middle-class groups was possible. The availability of a sufficient number of light-skinned women meant that darker-skinned men could obtain wives lighter complexioned than themselves.

If we look at professional men and their wives we find that the vast majority of those in the higher professions (law and medicine, the higher ranks of the civil service) have married women "fairer in complexion" than themselves. In some cases we find that they have married people of the same complexion, but only in rare, very rare cases do we find that an individual of these groups marries someone darker. In fact when this occurs it is considered unusual by the members of the society itself, and something that needs to be explained.

The system of mobility through marriage places the dark-skinned women of middle class origin in a peculiar position, since, in general the prospect she often faces is one of marrying down on the social scale or of remaining unmarried. Even here the great importance attached to skin colour tends to override the desirability of marrying into a good family on the part of many dark-skinned men.

One reason for this was the fact that social status was linked so closely to success on the occupational scale for men. Just as in the

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United States, the main status of the kinship group sprang from the husband's occupational status. The unmarried girl of the middle class notoriously as soon as she met a middle class man wished to place him by knowing where he was working or what was his profession. In the colourful words of one girl who wished to aspire to middle class status, all a girl wanted was "a car, a collegiate or a professional man". It was expected that a girl would put up with marrying a man with a darker skin than herself provided he had achieved professional competence. Someone lighter in complexion or of the same shade was as desirable for her as for the men, but being economically dependent she would frequently have to reconcile herself to the second best. If she married a professional man she could hide from herself her failure in this respect by pointing to her husband's professional competence. The dual scale of values offered her an alternative valuation which she could use.

In the case of the man, however, this was otherwise. Marrying a light-skinned person came to be almost a sign and symbol of occupational and professional success. Having achieved the latter he could afford to look around, to pick and choose; and having a choice he naturally chose what the society defined, and what he accepted, as the aesthetically desirable. Even limited success, however, could bring him some light-skinned girl roughly from his own social layer. In the last resort he could choose a girl from the lower rungs of the middle class or if he could do no better from the upper reaches of the lower class. The requirements of a wife in the society were that she be primarily decorative. The dark skinned man who married a woman of the same complexion, or the light skinned man who married a woman darker than himself, by doing so marked himself off as an occupational failure, and socially deviant. It was even likely that their behaviour would be considered psychologically queer.

The position of the dark-skinned woman was therefore not an enviable one. If she was of the upper classes and she thought of marrying below her station, this was likely to cause a breach with her own family in a society which was so very conscious of status differences. Moreover, as a compensation for her own failure to succeed in obtaining a desirable mate she was liable to stress her superiority in status; and this would render even more difficult an alliance with someone below her station.

The dark-skinned man of the middle class also found himself in a difficult position. It is true that if eminently successful he could get a middle class woman, but if not he had to go further down the scale, violating in some respects the values which, although subordinate to skin colour, he still held dear. These were, for example,

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level of education, family background. Moreover, just as the marriage of the coloured person to the white seemed to imply the negative evaluation of the self, so the hankering after a light-skinned person showed the dark-skinned man's conception of himself as essentially unlovable. His very success was established by validating his own lack of self-esteem. Moreover there was no certainty that the dark-skinned person would obtain the precise person to whom he aspired. Before he settled on one person he had perhaps to face several rebuffs from those whom he loved and who he knew would be rejecting him largely on account of his colour. Women, traditionally, have had to gear their personalities to the possibility of their destinies in life being decided by chance factors. Frequently they knew that they would have to marry the man who came along or else do without a husband. And this fact seems to have affected their whole psychology of life. Something of the same factor entered into the psychology of the dark-skinned man. Like a woman he had to adjust to the fact that he was being married as a last resort.

This wound to the self-esteem led to a great deal of sensitivity on the part of the dark-skinned man even if he was successful occupationally. This, combined with the prejudice against the dark-skin in employment, was a source of major psychological strain.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILY LIFE.

Among the important consequences of this tendency to marry someone higher up on the racial-skin-colour scale, women came to enjoy in the middle class home a great deal of power. This is of great importance for the social structure because female dominance in the middle class home tends to produce something of the same type of personality that female dominance (in a somewhat different type of family structure) in the working class produces. Hence there is a common "West Indian psychology" which makes expressive communication between the middle classes and the lower classes easier and helps to bridge the tremendous gap which exists between the two groups.

The high authority and status which the woman has in the middle class home may be due to the inheritance of an African tradition as has been asserted by Herskovits (14). But in terms of the middle class family this seems hardly likely, since the middle class is so very largely a coloured group whose biological ancestry indicates to some extent the social relations which produced it. It is among this group that there is least evidence of the inheritance of "Africanism" of any sort. And indeed, the hostility to anything of African origin is so strong that it is difficult for anything that is recognized as African to persist.

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Another possibility is that due to the prevalence of cheap domestic labour the middle class woman becomes accustomed to the use of power. Yet another is that in the small community mechanization of domestic work has not become widespread. Consequently there were innumerable things in the household to be done which were of economic value. Thus, in many of the lower middle class households of yesterday (and even in some of today), the baking of bread and cakes, the sewing of dresses and of children's clothes, the cutting of children's hair, were done by the women. There was never that vacuity which came from women being assigned to the home at the same time that all the functions which gave women status and usefulness were being taken away from it. None the less the factor of mobility through women inherited from the slave regime and perpetuated by the type of social structure now in existence seems to be of greater importance in determining female status.

Another characteristic feature of the middle-class family helps to explain this status. In a society where there are such large families, where birth control is on the whole not practised, it is inevitable that the image of the woman as mother must be clearly defined and that the task of looking after so many children and assuming such responsibility should develop "responsible" features in the personality of the women.

The middle class family is not only large in terms of numbers of children but also in terms of collateral relatives. The provision for old age by the state has only been lately introduced. Further, the application of a Means Test meant that the old people in the middle class do not benefit. On the other hand the allowance itself is so small that it could not contribute materially to maintaining the standard of living to which middle class folk are accustomed. Hence the old people have to be cared for as long as this is possible in the home. The large size of the middle class family probably has important consequences from the psychological point of view. That, in spite of the "aggressiveness" of the West Indian, the "basic emotional tone" of the West Indian group (as alleged by Simey) is a happy one may be due to the stimulation and security which arises from the solidarity within a large family.

One important respect in which the middle class family differs from the lower class family is in the competitive separation of middle class families one from the other. With the variations of status within the middle class group there is a strong desire to shed contacts lower down the scale. Norms of "proper" conduct are well established and variations are seized upon and magnified in order to stress the importance of one's own family group.

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The typical family unit among the middle class, then, will consist of the conjugal family (with several offspring) and collateral relatives, both consanguineal and affinal (not members of the family but playing an important part in the psychological development of the young), and one or two female domestics. Within this group there is a great deal of solidarity. Christmas celebrations are held very largely on a family basis, with Christmas dinners featuring prominently. This has, however, been rather on the decline in recent years with the relaxation of control over the youth. With the new freedom they enjoy, adolescents and young adults seem to prefer to engage in "feting" away from home for a considerable part of the Christmas period. The increasing popularity of the motor-car renders the organization of separate expeditions to the night club or the dance more easy.

Usually there are birthday celebrations with concomitant parties and the giving of gifts. Kinship ties are, as in the working class, shallow in depth but fairly wide in range. However, there is a great deal of variation. Certainly kinship roles and obligations outside of the immediate family do not seem to play an important part in the social structure. The chief role of the family would appear to be as a specialized agency for the rearing of the young to fulfil adult social roles.

Among the reasons for the fact that kinship ties are shallow in depth are the building up of the island society through relatively recent immigration, and the circumstance that the middle class seems to have very largely emerged from the working class within very recent times.

With regard to the first it should be pointed out that sometimes there was immigration of the kinship group (the conjugal family and collateral relatives) as a group. When this took place of course kinship ties remained visible and almost as strong as if the family had remained in its original island. However, even in this case familiar landmarks which would illustrate and symbolize the continuity of family life through several generations were obliterated. Where immigration into the island took place on an individual basis the break with the kinship group was probably more acute. Some individuals after arrival sent for their families. More usual was the immigration of young men, unmarried, in search of jobs. who would make alliances with Trinidadian girls. The break with the older generation on at least one side of the family then occurred.

The recent emergence of the bulk of the middle class is important because of the gulf which exists between the middle class and the lower class and because too, of the historical traditions of the com-

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munity. Thus there are stories current in the island about prominent citizens who, having achieved high professional reputation, have proceeded to cut themselves loose from their former associations. Sometimes this arises on the basis of skin colour; where, for instance, those who are endeavouring to pass for white are anxious to shed kinship connections with people of a darker hue. More usually it is that the individual who has risen from working class status finds parental and consanguineal ties socially embarrassing in a status-ridden society. Candidates for positions in the public service have been known to prefer to jeopardize their chances of obtaining a job to producing their birth or baptismal certificates.[a]

The heritage of slavery, about which all coloured middle class persons are heartily ashamed and embarrassed, also causes this group to look forward into the possibilities of the future, rather than backward into the heritage of a despised social status. Even where the middle-class individual could trace historical continuity back for a few generations on a "middle class" basis it would reveal them in the humiliating position of the free people of colour. It is for this reason that occasionally the coloured middle class in tracing their African ancestry tend to claim that their ancestors were not slaves. Sometimes the ancestor is claimed to be some immigrant chief captured by mistake who, on being freed, decided to stay in the West Indies. Sometimes descent is alleged to be from free Africans who migrated to the colony subsequent to emancipation.

More usual is the tendency to show no concern with African ancestry whatsoever. Sometimes the actual kinship ties on the European side can be traced, and when this is so it is a matter for pride and rejoicing. Even where such direct connections cannot be traced, the ethnic affiliations of the coloured person on the white side are stressed. Thus people will proudly proclaim that they "have 'English', 'Spanish', 'French', blood" in their veins. They can even be heard boasting that they are a "mix-up", but someone making such a boast is unlikely to include African blood in the mixture. Frequently psychological traits are associated with particular "racial" groupings. Thus there is the tendency to associate all bad traits with the Negro ancestry. Hence comments such as: "It is the nigger blood I have in me", *"Typicale! De quelle couleur?"* And other traits such as "hot-headedness" are attributed to "Spanish blood"; that is, when "hot-headedness" is viewed in a tolerant manner.

As regards the extension of kinship ties not backwards in time

[a] The writer has this report from what he believes are trustworthy sources. However, even if not true, the type of rumour circulating in this connection would be of social significance.

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but outwards in range, the problem is somewhat similar. Where for instance a girl has married on the basis of skin-colour someone of a social group higher on the status hierarchy, the same problem of acknowledging or disacknowledging relations arises. If these contacts are embarrassing they are sometimes shed. However, the ties to the immediate family, to the family of orientation, are usually strong. And in considering the choice of a partner the person marrying a lighter-skinned person from lower down the rungs of the social ladder frequently has to consider the family from which the girl comes as a unit and has to be prepared to accept it as a unit. Even where the ties, in order to avoid embarrassment, become less close than they would otherwise, the community is so small that the kinship connections are still fairly well known. In the case of the individual man who is rising in the social scale, his relationship to his own generation is likely to be less of a social embarrassment because of the increasing provision of educational facilities. The gap between generations, from the point of view of social custom, habits and compatibility, is much greater than between individuals of the same generation.

Although the status of the kinship group largely derives from the occupational and social status of the father, within the home itself the mother's authority is supreme. In all matters concerned with the rearing of the child her word is law. In this respect even the word of the grandmother is of more importance than that of the father; for in childbirth and in the rearing of offspring there is a strong tendency to fall back on the mother's mother. In most middle class families the "father" is relatively subordinate, so that psychologically speaking there is sometimes no man in the home. The emotional attachment to the mother is as marked in the middle class home as in many working-class families where there is no man in the home. The mother is the main source both of affection and of discipline. In terms of affection the ready supply of this to the child when in need by the mother has been more and more changed by the existence of middle class mothers who go out to work. None the less, the middle class child is more likely to suffer from maternal over-protection than from the deprivation of maternal love. There is among the middle classes a greater impact of the "sanitary", "fixed schedule" types of feeding, and in rare cases the child is not breast-fed because it will spoil the beauty of the mother's breast.

The chief cause for the decline, such as it is, in the *expertise* of mothering among middle-class families is the development of secondary education for girls and the increased opportunity for employment which has arisen for girls thus educated. Secondary educa-

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tion for girls has developed in Trinidad, as in England, (28, 52) not by the devising of special curricula which took into account the greater homemindedness of the girls, but by merely opening to them the type of education provided for the boys. The secondary education of girls differed only in that there was a greater provision for religious and moral teaching, an absence of scientific training, and slightly more art education. The value of the education provided was judged as in the boys' schools on the results obtained in the School Certificate and the Higher Certificate examinations. Girls competed (until the establishment in 1945 of a special girls' scholarship) with boys for the same scholarship for University education. For the exhibition which gave free entry into the secondary school the examination was identical.

The increased opportunities for girls as typists and stenographers and their employment on an equal footing in the Civil Service accustomed most girls to orient themselves to work after leaving school. At the same time the rising standards of living of the middle class encouraged these girls to continue work even after getting married. The exact range of this effect both in terms of numbers involved and the psychological effect would need to be measured before an assessment could be hoped for. It would seem clear, however, that the fundamental psychological attitude towards authority of the middle-class individual is based largely on experience in the family situation.

The two factors which seem to be of the greatest importance in determining this attitude are (a) the role of the mother as the source of both affection and of discipline and (b) the feeling of lack of esteem which flows from feelings of racial inferiority.

The first point has already been briefly discussed above. As regards the second it should be pointed out that one of the main features of the "anti-authority" middle class ideology is that ideas of racial inferiority are due chiefly to the indoctrination carried on in the schools. The fact that in the West Indian readers, written and introduced into the colony by an Englishman, barefooted children are seen eating watermelons and that some of the despised folk tales of the masses are reproduced there, only serves to reinforce this belief which is held on somewhat tenuous evidence. The real fact of the matter is that the family is the main source through which the values of the society as regards skin-colour become transmitted to the younger generation.

In view of the important role that skin-colour plays in determining marital choice it is almost inevitable that women in particular should be extremely conscious of this problem and should be-

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tray a great deal of anxiety on this score. The transmission of these skin-colour and racial values takes place largely through the unconscious assumption of maternal values as well as the quite explicit indoctrination by the mother in defining who are desirable playmates and why. Due attention is paid to remarks about "nice people" with "good hair" and "nice complexions". Specific instructions are given for children not only not to associate with the lower class children—where a greater number of dark-skinned persons will be found—but also not to associate with dark-skinned middle class persons. Thus J ...., a young man in his early twenties, is obsessed with the idea of marrying someone racially superior to him. His father, a professional man, on giving him instructions upon how he should conduct himself in England where he was about to proceed to attend a University, gave him definite advice, amounting almost to instruction. that he should marry an Englishwoman. J....'s father is himself dark-skinned and is married to someone very much fairer than himself. Within the family group those ideas which now get their express formulation in this advice on whom to marry, have frequently been discussed. Moreover these sentiments in favour of light-skinned people and against dark-skinned persons were reinforced by J....'s associations with his neighbours. J.... is himself dark in complexion and on many occasions he heard in his childhood middle class mothers of the neighbourhood, light-skinned in complexion, instructing their children to cease playing with him because he was too black.

The discrimination is however learnt not only in terms of behaviour towards neighbours and outsiders but also in relation to attitudes to members of the kinship group and within the immediate family itself.

K....was a young man brought up with an uncle and aunt because his parents had migrated to work in the United States. Although much of his personality has been formed by the sense of deprivation resulting from the psychological feeling of desertion by his parents, it is clear that his attitudes towards racial differences flow immediately from his experience within his family of adoption. Within that family he has heard constant derogatory references to black people. They are described as "niggers". In particular the black servants were scorned and despised. They were always described as being "stink"; and "smell the nigger" was a remark that was frequently heard and which stands out now in his young adult life. Contacts with dark-skinned relations were kept at a minimum, while an assiduous attempt was made to cultivate relations with one fair-skinned family of high social status to whom he was also related. Every Sunday he was obliged to visit them in their more

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palatial surroundings. At this home he never felt that he belonged and was always aware as a child that he was merely being tolerated in a patronizing relationship. Now K.... declares that he could not possibly marry any but a very light-skinned or white person.

Moreover, within the immediate family itself there is often much variation in skin colour. The laws of genetic inheritance do not follow the norms for inter-shade marriage which the society enjoins or at least encourages. Thus within one family unit children of the same parents may be light-skinned, brown-skinned, or dark-skinned. Within this unit there is a possibility of discrimination. The lighter-skinned child, the child with "good" hair and a "good complexion" is likely to receive more love and affection than the darker child with "hard", "nigger", or "bad" hair. It is possible and indeed customary to express such sentiments openly before the children. Even if the parents themselves refrained from showing any favouritism or from indicating any rating from the point of view of skin colour, these differences are hardly likely to escape the notice of relations and close friends. It is a point which is remarked upon as regularly, in as much a taken-for-granted attitude, as are remarks about the size, weight or other physical development of the child. That the remarks are thus casually made does not mean that their emotional tones are not conveyed to the child. Moreover, in some families it has even been known that parents have permitted some of their children to attend parties and functions to which their dark-skinned siblings have not been invited.

Although the heavier psychological blow goes to the dark-skinned person and the discrimination of affection may result in the light-skinned person obtaining a feeling of security and privilege as compared with his other siblings it should not be thought that such an individual does not also receive some damaging blows to his own esteem. Although he may have "good" hair as compared with his "nigger-head" brother, he is also likely to learn that his "good" hair (or nice complexion, etc.) is inferior to that of someone more specially favoured biologically. He gets placed in a hierarchy and if there is satisfaction in learning as a child that there are many others on the rungs below, there is also the pain of acknowledging that there are many others placed further up in the hierarchy.

It should not be thought that the instruments of prejudice are primarily the women. It has frequently been asserted that the root of racial prejudice in the colonies amongst English people is centred in the woman.[a] Undoubtedly in shade discrimination the relationship between the sexes plays an important part. But social

[a] See for instance "Dearest Priscilla: Letters to the wife of a Colonial Servant."

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stratification on the basis of "racial criteria" is so marked that even among men these barriers to friendship and association are not overcome. Thus in the organization of football and cricket teams we find that even here the hierarchy based upon race and skin-colour is firmly established.

The effect of the mother as chief agent of discipline and affection and the wounds to self-esteem as a result of the colour values of the society seem to create something closely resembling the "authoritarian personality". A great deal of aggressiveness seems to be generated in the personality of the middle-class West Indian and much of this is directed against authority. Faced with the need to adjust to authority, the tendency is either to acquiesce completely or to revolt. This seems in part at least to be a carry-over from the problems of adjustment to the mother within the family situation. At the same time there is a great deal of resentment and suspicion on the grounds of racial discrimination.

Whatever obscurity there is about the genetic source and origin of the characteristic modes of dealing with aggressive impulses, it would seem that the methods of dealing with such aggression are fairly clear. If, following Rosenweig (36) we use the classification of intropunitive, extrapunitive, and impunitive reactions we should classify the characteristic modes of reaction of the middle-class Trinidadian as intropunitive and extrapunitive.

The effect of this brand of aggression is to produce a type of personality not suited for political responsibility. Under the conditions of Crown Colony rule the intropunitive types tended to flee from political activity for fear of offending those in authority. This is one of the roots of the much-noted political apathy of the educated classes during the pre-adult suffrage stage of Crown Colony rule. The extrapunitive position, which appeared to the intropunitive as the necessary consequence of abandoning his conformist attitude, was equally harmful. It encouraged the split between the "responsible" leadership of the administration and its nominated members on the one hand and the "irresponsible" elected members on the other, since it predisposed the individuals concerned to give or accept the radical interpretation of the political situation which sought to put the blame for everything at the door of the English administration.

SOME OTHER ASPECTS OF MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILY LIFE

Within the middle-class the form of marriage which is almost necessarily practised is the marriage within the Church. This is partly due to the strong religious attachments of the Roman Catho-

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lics. But people of other denominations as well as those who are sceptics feel constrained to get married in church. Provision for civil registration of marriage exists, but only the occasional middle-class person avails himself of that opportunity. Such, for instance, would be the Catholic who has offended against his religious code by obtaining a divorce.

The "common-law" union which is so widespread among certain sections of the working-class is almost non-existent in middle class circles. It occurs only occasionally, but there have been instances of prominent middle-class persons who have set up common-law unions. In most cases this has been due to the breakdown of a marriage and some religious or legal bar has prevented the regularization of the union. However, in these cases the common-law union has been a direct violation of the middle-class code. The individuals concerned have necessarily had to genuflect before established public opinion and have had either to pretend marriage or to shed their common-law wives on appearing in public.

Just as marriage is viewed as a religious ceremony, so is divorce looked upon as a tragedy. It was not until 1932 that any legal provision for divorce was introduced into the island, and then the sole ground upon which divorce was permitted was adultery. That is the position as it exists to-day. Further, the law as it now stands is not the subject of any controversy. There are few people who ever express an opinion that the law should be liberalized. Certainly there is no pressure group connected with the divorce laws.

Marriage is on the whole relatively successful, but even in unsuccessful unions there does not seem to be a ready recourse to the divorce court. The number of divorces is small. Research would probably indicate that women are more opposed to divorce than men. Part of the reason for the failure of people to make fuller use of the divorce court is the undesirable publicity which it entails. The middle class is small in number and therefore sensitive to gossip. There is legal provision for the prohibition of detailed reporting of divorce cases, but such a provision, valuable as it is, is of less consequence in the small community than in the large. Embarrassing details of behaviour become known to the public who attend the courts and are retailed by word of mouth. It would be wrong to over-emphasize this aspect of social prevention of deviant behaviour. The religious aspect is the most important. With the spread of education and new forms of entertainment, modern secular values seem to be lessening the controls which religion exercises over marital behaviour. It is popularly believed that a larger proportion of re-

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cent marriages is subject to disruption than of marriages which took place a generation ago.

There has been a change of attitudes towards sex. Until recent years there had been a strict taboo on pre-marital intercourse on the part of the middle class girl: indulgence on her part had to be surreptitious. Until recently, too, birth control was hardly practised, and consequently the fear of illegitimacy helped to prevent the development of pre-marital intercourse as between middle class individuals.

Some degree of intercourse usually took place within the "middle class", but usually in such cases the man was of somewhat higher social standing than the woman. It was always permissible for the middle class man to have surreptitious intercourse with a woman in the lower levels. This was, on superficial observation, particularly true of the Roman Catholic elements and of the upper middle class. This activity was, of course, contrary to religious teaching and the "accepted" social code. The establishment of "virginity" as a standard for the middle class girl and the long delay between the arrival of physiological maturity and the establishment of a position in the society which would permit a marriage on middle class standards caused this code to be frequently violated. Before a young man could marry he was expected to accumulate sufficient money to purchase the furniture for the home, and to be able to provide (not necessarily to purchase) a home in which the newly-wedded couple could reside. The expenses of the wedding ceremony were borne by the bride's family and in return for their munificent entertainment quite a number of gifts were received. But the basic furnishing of a home sufficiently elaborate to compare favourably with the home to which the girl had been accustomed was the man's heavy responsibility. At the same time there was easy access to lower class women. The role of domestics in initiating middle class youth into sexual activity should not be overlooked. The question of colour and shade differences also entered here. The girls of the society, particularly those of the lower middle class or upper lower class, felt particularly flattered when someone of higher social standing, particularly where he was of lighter complexion, took an interest in them. They were predisposed to "fall in love" with such a person and to "mistake his carnal intentions for a matrimonial obsession". For fear of the loss of the loved object, from the need to keep on terms of friendship with someone higher in the colour-class hierarchy, the girl often surrendered her claims to virginity.

On this account the wealthiest of the coloured middle class youth often arranged to keep a "batchy", a room in a remote district

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where they could carry out their sexual affairs clandestinely. In some cases a young woman had a group of middle class men as her regular clients. In other cases there was the straight resort to prostitution.

Within the past fifteen years or so, however, attitudes to sex and to marriage have undergone sharp change. Under the impact of the jazz songs ("Give me your lips, the lips you only let me borrow. Love me to-night and let the devil take to-morrow"), the romantic themes of the cinema and ideas coming from one form or other of contact with the United States of America and Great Britain, the attitudes of young middle class girls have shifted in the direction of greater acceptance of pre-marital intercourse. Consequently when on Carnival day there was a presentation of the Modern Bride as an obviously pregnant woman, it was not a reference taken from the files of newspapers but a phenomenon that had become increasingly the mark of public attention. It has indeed become the custom now to note carefully the time of marriage and the time of the birth of the first child.

At the same time the upsurge in population growth meant that there was a steady pressure on available housing space. Previously, homes had more or less been readily available for the young married couple. Particularly since the arrival of the Americans during the second World War, and the subsequent wave of immigration from the neighbouring islands, housing space has become increasingly difficult to obtain. During the war, too, the shortage of materials made the building of homes difficult. These externally imposed hardships allowed middle-class persons, without loss of face, to get married before providing and furnishing a home.

These changes in attitudes towards sex and standards of appropriateness of styles of life of the young married couple have caused the division between the lower class and the middle class to become less sharply defined. However it should be noted that bearing an illegitimate child is still looked upon as a major disgrace if it should occur to the middle class girl. Divorce remains as disapproved of as before and the common-law union is still socially taboo.

Observers declare that there has been an increase in extra-marital affairs among the younger married couples. It is likely indeed that changes have occurred in that direction although in the nature of the case it would be difficult to establish the point factually. Evidence which would not stand the light of the law courts or of the social investigator is permissible (and rightly so) in the social life of the island. What does seem clear is that a change in the type of extra-marital affair has taken place. Previ-

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ously, corresponding to the image of the prospective wife as "virgin", there was a restriction on the activity of the woman, who was expected to be faithful. On the part of the man "outside" affairs were permissible although he was expected to be discreet and to keep them hidden from the wife. Tolerance of such affairs, provided they did not threaten to disrupt the life of the family, was the more widespread pattern among the wives, although it was considered perfectly legitimate if she took objection to it. There was on the part of the middle class man something of a puritanical-obscene attitude towards women. This was encouraged by the social system where marriage-choice was determined so very largely by status. It could be expected that the middle-class man would frequently find himself under psychological strain and that with a lower class with a permissive sexual code, he would be encouraged to seek compensating activity. This in fact often did occur.

There were many prominent citizens of yesterday who although "happily married" and secure in social status and position none the less kept women whom they visited regularly, or who would visit them at their offices. Sometimes these excursions were so open that they could hardly be called clandestine. However, with the change in attitude of the middle class girl towards intercourse there seems to have taken place a corresponding change in her attitude towards extra-marital affairs. Perhaps it is that, armed with her School Certificate and diverted somewhat from the home by the education she has received, she feels somewhat more confident about facing the rigours of the world alone. There is, now, in the relation between the young middle-class man and woman a greater equality than existed before. With the possibility of having extra-marital affairs within their own class, the trend is towards making use of such opportunities.

In spite of the changing attitudes to sex in a more liberal direction the middle class is still the group which holds on most strongly to the "conventional morality". Pre-marital chastity for the women remains strongest in this group. The upper class groups, constantly reinforced from the metropolitan area where permissive attitudes persist, and the lower class groups have a much less rigid code of behaviour.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

The position of the coloured middle class in the social structure of the island society seems to produce certain important psychological consequences. The limiting barrier of race together with the possibility of limited mobility tended to encourage the emergence of

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two prominent psychological types. On the one hand there was a tendency to radicalism and on the other hand to compulsive conformity.

The fact that there were possibilities of mobility, provided one showed acquiescence in the accepted code, encouraged in some people a tendency to conform to the norms of ascription. In the hierarchy of shade colour it was always possible for the individual who had reached a certain level of social status to go a step higher, by showing unequivocally that he accepted the scale of values of the lighter-skinned group which he proposed to enter. Thus a doctor or lawyer who was dark-skinned would be permitted to join a club or otherwise associate with lighter-skinned groups, provided he was prepared to accept the discrimination that was being practised against other members of his own skin colour. Marriage to someone of lighter-skin colour was only partially a means of social mobility "for the children"; it also allowed a certain amount of immediate mobility.

This acceptance of one person of a skin colour darker than the social-class group served a useful function to the accepting social group as well. In the conflicting acceptance of both universalistic-achievement and particularistic-ascriptive values it served as a means of reconciliation of the conflict. Those lower down in the scale of race or skin-colour frequently found themselves protesting against the "discriminations" practised by those higher up. The phenomenon of privileged exceptions served to blind them to the fact that they too were practising discrimination against the dark-skinned groups. In some cases it was consciously used in an attempt to deceive others as well as themselves that this was the case.

This pattern of discrimination with privileged exceptions applied right down the social scale. Thus the European groups accepted into their society lighter-skinned persons whose intimate associates were often all of European stock. It may have been on this account that certain ethnic groups, too, came to be accepted by the Europeans. As long as Chinese obtained employment in the banks or entry into the country club it could be claimed that these institutions did not practice racial discrimination. In like manner certain of the social clubs which were formed mainly of light-skinned coloured persons allowed one or two dark-skinned persons to join provided they shed their coloured contacts (or at least did not invite them to the club premises) and showed a thorough acceptance of the values of the lighter-skinned group.

On the part of the individual who actually accepted this means of mobility, there developed an extreme sensitivity to what the people

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higher up on the social scale thought and to the possibility of being adversely criticised by them. It was not merely a mechanism of adjustment to the situation: the values of the society, transmitted mainly through the family, were deeply rooted in his personality. For reasons arising in the family situation, too, the middle-class person tended to have difficulties in the adjustment of authority which made him tend either in the direction of uncritical subordination to, or a similarly uncritical revolt against established authority. Moreover in certain situations this was accentuated, particularly in areas like the Civil Service where adjustment to a hierarchy was a necessary thing for the individual.

As a consequence of these factors many people developed into "compulsive conformists". The description which Maslow (22) gives of "the authoritarian character" fitted many of these individuals like a glove. Although the rules and discriminations were obvious the particular selection of the individuals depended so much on caprice, on the luck of the draw, on not offending unwittingly, that it was not something amenable to rational control. Every act had to be defined, and the anxiety borne by these individuals was tremendous. Insecurity was the order of the day; the man lived "in a world which may be conceived to be pictured by him as a sort of jungle in which every man's hand is necessarily against every other man's, in which the whole world is conceived of as dangerous, threatening, or at least challenging and in which human beings are conceived of as primarily selfish or evil or stupid. To carry the analogy further, this jungle is peopled with animals who either eat or are eaten, who are either to be feared or despised. One's safety lies in one's own strength and this strength primarily consists in the power to dominate. If one is not strong enough the only alternative is to find a strong protector. If this protector is strong enough and can be relied on then peace of a certain sort is possible to the individual".

It was the latter alternative of seeking a powerful figure, a patron-and-client relationship, which appealed to those who were interested in mobility. In a certain sense, of course, all the individuals in the society were interested in mobility. Acceptance of the status system was necessary for the adequate functioning of the society. As long as the society permitted characteristic forms of mobility the individuals who accepted that scale of values also accepted that form of mobility. The recognised means of moving up on the social scale was by manipulating people from below and by accepting patronage. To be sure, as we have seen, this was not the only form of mobility, but it was a characteristic form. It was possible for the individual member of the society to accept his lower

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status and deny to himself the possibility of mobility, but even so he was reacting against the established norm and had to define his position toward a characteristic form of mobility.

The "jungle-world *Weltanschauung*" was not the only characteristic of these individuals, however. The tendency to hierarchy was most marked in the personalities of these individuals—that is, "the tendency to regard most of all other human beings as challenging rivals who are either superior (and therefore to be feared, resented, bootlicked and admired) or inferior (and therefore to be scorned, humiliated and dominated). People are ranged on a vertical scale as if they were on a ladder and they are divided into those below and into those above on the ladder". The obvious external racial characteristics (particularly skin colour) upon which the social stratification so largely depended meant that the "autocratic character" fitted neatly into the social structure.

Another of the features marking the authoritarian character which fitted in well with the social structure was that the 'authoritarian tendency to classify all other human beings into two groups determined by the relation of superiority or inferiority to the subject is furthermore marked by a tremendous over-generalization, namely, to regard the "superior" or stronger person to be stronger in everything (since, in a jungle, strength is the only quality that ultimately matters).' Here again the status system with its ascriptive base and its intricate hierarchy, with the dominance of a foreign country and the consequent feelings of inferiority it engendered, produced no strain on the person with the authoritarian character in the performance of his social roles.

THE DRIVE FOR POWER

Maslow believes that the authoritarian person "tends to have a strong drive for power status, external prestige (since in the jungle, power is so necessary). It is furthermore characteristic of the authoritarian individual that if he does have power he tends to use it primarily to assuage his own psychological needs, that is, in a selfish way, and he tends, especially when challenged, to use it in a hard, cruel or even sadistic fashion". The West Indian middle-class person of the authoritarian type did not possess a very strong drive for power although he used such power as he possessed in a characteristic fashion. He had learnt to limit his demands and he knew that in the last resort there was a point beyond which he could not go. Individuals of this type were frequently to be found within the Civil Service. Although constantly manipulating in order to receive promotion they never conceived of themselves as being really

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equipped for the highest positions. They always relied upon having a powerful friend above them. With the change of policy in the direction of appointing more West Indians to senior positions there is a tendency for people to be placed in positions of authority who still retain the psychology and attitude of the subordinate. They continue to be fearful of powerful people above, even when these are non-existent, who may be able to harm them, and this saps initiative. Their one cardinal principle in life has been "Never under any circumstances offend someone in a superior position". Consequently there is a characteristic harshness of treatment of subordinates in case of any issue which may involve conflict with a superior authority. The rise of such persons to positions of power with the emergence of a new elite is one of the serious problems that the West Indies have to face.

In the spheres outside the Civil Service the existence of these authoritarian personalities has been of importance. It has been partially responsible for the failure of coloured persons to do well in business since this is a sphere where initiative is of major importance. In this connection the preoccupation with status, with the external marks of prestige, is more important in the "authoritarian" middle class person than the drive for power. The wide spread of these attitudes also has important consequences. The tendency is towards conspicuous consumption, towards accumulating as many as possible of the external marks which will win recognition from other people. In the intellectual field this showed itself in the desire to accumulate degrees quite apart from their intrinsic worth. One individual, for instance, got a correspondence B.A. from a 'phoney' institution in the United States but was willing and able to parade it. The effort was frequently made by those who had obtained degrees not to gain further knowledge of, and acquaintance with their own subject, but to collect a degree in another subject. Thus the person with a B.A. would think of getting an LL.B. or a B.Sc. Econ. The external parade of degrees was the important thing, for sometimes the individual took more or less the same subjects on the same level rather than delve deeper into a chosen field.

In the social field this made the accumulation of capital difficult since the concern with establishing a place in the hierarchy led to immediate consumption. The external symbols among the middle-class which were highly desirable included: the refrigerator (which was often placed in a conspicuous position so that it could be noticed by visitors), the motor-car, the vacation abroad, and social entertainment on a lavish scale. Of course this was only one factor and the status preoccupations and patterns of consumption of the

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working class were also of great concern in explaining the relative failure of a middle-class business group to emerge in the society.

Another possible reaction was that of radical non-conformism. This too, had its effects on the social structure. The non-conformist showed a great need for independence and endeavoured to move himself out of the hierarchy of superiority and inferiority which work in a formal organization such as the Civil Service necessarily enjoined. At the same time the concern with status was manifest in the extreme even in rebellion. Making a living as a small businessman gave little prestige in the community. The possession of wealth, of an established business position in the community, rather than the values which motivated performance in that direction were what gave status. Consequently the pull towards the professions which gave independence and status was correspondingly great. The legal profession in particular was attractive because, besides the social status with which it was associated, there were psychological factors involved. The legal profession brought the individual, psychologically at least, close to the centres of power. The lawyer felt (and the general public too) that he was initiated into the mysteries of law-making; he achieved status as of right. The court, further, was a place where the central focus was on conflict and this had a particular interest for the masses. The court, therefore, served as a means of giving publicity and fame among the general public. Further, in the small community cases in court were reported at length in the newspapers. Thus the coveted honour of getting mentioned in the newspapers, without the commission of a criminal offence, was open to the lawyer. Finally, the "erudition" of the lawyer could be displayed. It is difficult to explain how impressive to the lawyer in Trinidad is the use of his technical jargon, the Latin phrases, the esoteric references comprehensible only to the initiated.

This interpretation of the attraction of the legal profession in terms of the social status it confers and the psychological need thereof that it assuages is confirmed by the defensive denial so often advanced in Trinidad, that any preoccupation with status is involved in choice of the legal profession. The regular argument put forward is not even that the law provides independence, but that it is because of the economic possibilities that there is the great thronging to the profession. Of course many believe this and there is undoubtedly a genuine misunderstanding of the position on the part of many would-be lawyers and their families. None the less the extreme overcrowding of the profession is such that many of the individuals concerned can only retain belief in good economic prospects by consciously or unconsciously excluding from their con-

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sideration facts of which they are aware, or which are easily accessible.

The radical non-conformist very often expresses an extreme degree of ambivalence. Thus we have the staunch nationalist who none the less marries a foreign wife; or the strong opponent of racial discrimination who none the less acquiesces in discriminatory practices against darker-skinned groups. Frequently, indeed, the radicalism is a conscious pose intended to increase the possibility of mobility through political power. More often it is only one side of the authoritarian character expressing itself.

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE AUTHORITARIAN CHARACTER

The 'jungle' outlook, the tendency to hierarchy, the generalization of superiority-inferiority, the drive for power and prestige: these are only some of the features of the "authoritarian" character. Other features listed by Maslow are easily visible in the authoritarian personality of the Trinidad middle-class: these are the tendency to use people and the identification of kindness with weakness.

These characteristics indeed flow almost inevitably from the master-traits of personality already described. It is clear that if the individual looks upon the world with an anxiety that can be reduced only by the manipulating of powerful friends he will not be likely to develop a tendency of diffuse attachment, but only one of a specific kind. The particular use of the powerful figure to the individual was what mattered even if there was a tendency to generalize the power of such figures. Vaguely it was felt that one did not know how "these people" (those in power, the authorities) might act. But manipulation of a particular contact was the way in which anxiety about security was assuaged in the hostile world that was controlled by "these people".[a] Moreover, the limited possibilities of mobility combined with an intense concern for advancement helped to induce an extremely competitive attitude towards equals who were seen as potential rivals. Within the Civil Service the consequence of this was a great deal of news-carrying and underhand work in the hope of winning the good graces of the superior. Of course when these authoritarians themselves rose to any position of authority this feature was accentuated. It was almost inherent in a situation where the lack of informal contact increased for the Europeans the difficulty of making adequate personal judgement of their subordinates or of events within the office. With the authoritarian figure in

[a] This oft-recurring phrase in the context of political and social discussion will be easily recognized by Trinidadians. Its overtone of meaning is difficult to describe but it expresses a definite paranoid suspiciousness towards the world in general rather than specific individuals.

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command this was a measure of ensuring for himself the feeling of adequacy, that he was in control of the situation. At the same time it satisfied his *amour-propre* and assuaged his vanity that others (similarly authoritarian in outlook) should recognize his position of power and should seek to ingratiate themselves. Naturally, if there was a tendency to exploit superiors and equals the tendency became even more marked where juniors were concerned.

Similarly flowing from the concept of the world as essentially a hostile one was the capacity to mistake kindness for weakness. It was not so much that kindness was cynically used, as that many of the authoritarian individuals did not actually recognize the act of kindness as such; the self-consciousness of the individual caused the world to be divided into suckers that could be used and friends who could help. But the friend did not emerge as a genuine human personality. His qualities were defined only in connection with the particular relationship to the individual.

The other qualities which Maslow attributed to the authoritarian character were not present to as marked an extent. They were —

1. "The abyss between males and females".
   A certain antoganism to women developed from the family situation and this will be discussed below.
2. "The development of homosexuality".
   This was relatively not marked in the middle-class.
3. "The soldier-ideal" (ambivalent attitudes towards death).
   This was markedly absent.
4. "The role of humiliation as a validation for social status."[a]
   This was equivalent to the "big fish eat little fish, little fish eat mud" attitude achieving symbolic expression. In this graded hierarchy there were few people who did not have little fish below them upon whom they could pass on some of their resentment. The upper class discriminated against the middle

[a] The validation of status by humiliation is interestingly illustrated by the methods used in some clubs of accepting members after they have been blackballed or refused membership. Those individuals who persist in their applications after being rejected are sometimes accepted. It would appear that the process of cultivating friendships and retaining ambitions for membership is interpreted as a sign guaranteeing the full acceptance of the scale of values of those a little more highly placed in the class hierarchy. Naturally, a large number of people on being refused membership do not worry to re-apply. The interest lies rather in the fact that there are people who in spite of the humiliation involved still seek acceptance. Further, the whole process is from the purely utilitarian point of view quite useless and unnecessary. Here again, we have an exaggeration of a tendency found in all spheres of social life. The small group frequently shows resistance to the introduction of new members. But here the differential incidence of initiation ceremonies and their function in humiliation must be noticed.

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class and the lower class discriminated against the "coolies". In fact the removal of so many Indians against whom resentment could be expressed was a contributing factor in bringing about a change in the whole social system in a democratic direction: it served to make imperative a fuller acceptance of a universalistic scale of values. What is here suggested is that this was not merely a temporary feature of the situation such as arises in the accidental "wife-curses-boss; boss-curses-typist" situation, but was a typical mode of reaction—a trait of the personality of many of the individuals. Naturally, the system of social stratification encouraged this deflected aggression, but it would appear that this merely accentuated a tendency within the personality which had been formed in the family situation.

5. "The antagonism to education particularly of inferiors."
This, of course, is not a strictly psychological conception. The attitudes to education in the society tended both among the middle class and the urban working class to be one of approval because of its role in mobility However, it was significant that the concern of the middle class was much more with the way in which educational reforms would affect them. Thus there has been relatively little concern for the fact that so many areas and so many people have had to do without education altogether. The urge for reforms tended to concentrate less on these matters than on agitation for more scholarships to go abroad, or more exhibitions to lighten the burden of secondary education for the middle class. Similarly the teacher groups appear to have been much more concerned with problems of salaries to teachers, or their status *vis-a-vis* civil servants, than with the educational problems of the community themselves.
6. The concept of ecstatic submission, of eager giving up of independence to some character.

The charismatic leader is welcomed by the radical element in Trinidad society. There is a definite "need for a hero" both among the middle classes and the working classes. Any one who shows an intelligent interest in affairs tends to be looked upon as a "walking encyclopaedia". The enthusiasm with which various political figures and Dr. Eric Williams have been lionized is indicative. The middle-class following which Captain Cipriani obtained was largely of this character. However, the succession of political leaders who have been given enthusiastic support and who later "betrayed the trust" by accepting Government jobs or making similar compromises has caused people to become more suspicious and cynical about surrendering themselves to any political move-

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ment. However, it is to be noted that something of this spirit enters into the support by a few middle class people of Uriah Butler, the charismatic working-class leader.[a]

NOTE ON NUMBERS

The vogue of constructing socio-economic scales and indices threatens to come into fashion once more. While acknowledging the need for measurement whenever possible and for quantitative statement whenever possible, the writer has not found it feasible with the limited resources and time at his disposal to pay special attention to the problem of measurement.

The fact that the common value system is shared by the whole society makes it relatively easy to identify the various social classes, for control of possessions is inevitably associated with high status and conversely lack of possessions with low status. It is for this reason that such a high correlation can be found between the indices of researchers and the judgements of individuals in the society. (48) It is where discrepancies of judgement arise and where there is need for differentiation between the stratification of sub-systems and the total social system itself, that measurement is of most importance, and most necessary. However, this depends in the first place upon qualitative analysis and secondly upon adequate resources.

In order to give some rough indication of the numbers involved a few figures which may serve as extremely rough indices are given below. One possibility lies in an examination of the distribution of income.

However, if we are interested in getting some rough idea of the numerical strength of the middle and upper classes we cannot rely purely upon the figures on the distribution of income tax. The economic activity such as it is does not allow of a high standard or for a very large differentiation of professions and occupations. This can be seen by the small number of people who are liable to the payment of income tax (9, p. 211).

The employees of the larger companies, business firms and organizations (such as the Civil Service) do not escape from

[a] The conceptions of Maslow were developed in connection with perhaps more "abnormal" types. The description, written during the war years seems to have been directed towards explaining the "Nazi" character. It should be pointed out that the militancy characteristic of that movement was not to be found in the middle class. The general psychological characteristics are there, however. It is interesting to compare the psychology of the West Indian civil servant with that of the Soviet employee "Nikitkin" in Koestler's "Age of Longing." For further descriptions of the Authoritarian Character, see T. W. E. Adorno, et al (1) and G. W. Allport (2).

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INCOME TAX

Number of assessed Taxpayers	Income $ (B.W.I. $ = 4/2d.)
4,381	1,000 and less
1,613	1,001- 2,000
912	2,001- 3,000
546	3,001- 4,000
309	4,001- 5,000
117	5,001—6,000
291	6,001-10,000
116	10,001-14,000
48	14,001-18,000
30	18,001-22,000
30	22,001-28,000
33	28,001-60,000
2	60,001-66,000
6	66,001-and upwards

the payment of income tax. However, many persons in the lower income groups do, in fact, never make returns or are exempted from tax. But even making liberal allowance for the defaulters, the figures still give some rough indication of the low number of the "middle class" a class which in its upper reaches at least expects to have comparable if not superior material standards to the average professional groups in the U.K. or America.

The possession of a motor-car has latterly become the symbol of relative success among the middle classes. The upper reaches of this group are expected to possess cars.

Year	Number of Private Motor Vehicles
1946	5,196
1948	7,473
1947	8,740
1950	9,324
1951	9,088

These figures indicate roughly the numbers of families in the upper classes and in the upper middle classes.

It is interesting to note also the number of wireless sets since the possession of such sets is considered normal in middle class homes. Some of the better paid of the working class do, however, possess such sets and therefore there can be no identical correspondence between the numbers owning sets and the numbers of the middle class.

No. of licensed receiving sets in 1950	15,000
No. of rediffusion subscribers in 1950	10,000
	25,000

(The bulk of the rediffusion subscribers would be of the working class).

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Another of the class symbols is the possession of the private telephone:-

	No. of persons possessing Private Telephones	
(1)	Port of Spain Exchange (Approx.)	4,000
(2)	San Fernando	450
(3)	San Juan Exchange	21
(4)	Arima Exchange	27
(5)	St. Augustine Exchange	177
(6)	Palo Seco	53
(7)	Diego Martin	140
(8)	Tobago	29

THE LOWER CLASS

In the system of social stratification there are two areas where social mobility is at a minimum. The first area is the region between the white upper class and the coloured middle class. The second area, less marked than in some of the other West Indian islands, is the gap between the lower class and the middle class. To a large extent the differences between the groups seem to have some historical continuity with the social stratification that existed during the regime of slavery when the free coloured group approximating biologically and socially to the European, stood apart, in fairly sharp contrast, from the slaves largely of African descent.

At present the biological distinction is still quite marked. The middle class is still predominantly brown-skinned, though, with increased educational opportunity, the black element, particularly in the lower ranks of the middle classes, is rapidly increasing in number. The lower class is predominantly black, but there is also a strong diffusion of light-skinned and brown-skinned elements as well.

Skin colour is not the sole differentiating factor between the lower and the middle classes, and there are possibilities of mobility. The chances of moving from the lower class into the middle class are much greater for the light-skinned man, and even greater for the light-skinned girl than for their dark-skinned counterparts.

The light-skinned girl has several advantages. It is likely that she will be considered good-looking. Physically she will be more attractive to the brown-skinned men of the middle class. Even if she is not successful in obtaining a marriage partner, it is possible that, granted an absence of the external, immediately visible, signs of low social origin, she will be able to obtain entry into occasional social groups such as dances where her dark-skinned lower class or middle class counterpart would be unable to obtain admission. Naturally such occasional contact may lead to the development of a "frien'ing" relationship and may even lead subsequently to marriage.

Another important factor is the existence of certain marginal jobs which tend to have relatively high status and for which the up-

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per lower-class girl can qualify. On the assumption that the public prefers to be served by "good-looking" girls there is a tendency to give preferential employment to light-skinned girls in those occupations which are human-relation centred. Thus posts of the receptionist type sometimes involving minor clerical work, and work in shops and offices on the lower levels, tend to be given to brown-skinned and light-skinned persons.

Granted a certain level of education the "good-looking" lower-class girl can obtain a form of employment, as a "store clerk", which in the occupational scale tends to be relatively highly valued. The shop assistant is known universally as a shop "clerk", even though the work involves only the minimum of arithmetic and the rudiments of spelling. None the less the prestige which goes with "clerical" and white-collar work attaches to these positions.

On the part of the light-skinned man there is also the greater likelihood of getting social acceptance. Here again, the other qualifications necessary to admit the individual into the higher social group must be present. But his chances of mobility, all other things being equal, are greater than his dark-skinned brother's.

Just as in the middle class, the dark-skinned girl had to take the heaviest burden of discrimination. Brought up to regard herself as unlovable and denied the opportunity for advancing in the society, the upper lower-class girl's burden was particularly difficult to bear. No matter how much "commercial work" she learnt, once she did not possess the School Certificate which would entitle her to public employment, her chances of obtaining work were poor. In the offices light-skinned people see the increasing stream of dark-skinned persons qualifying for employment and applying for jobs. They are not worried because there is little likelihood of their breaking the barrier. Rather, the attitudes tend to be those of pity for those so unfortunately placed or of wonder and contempt at the illusions which must necessarily exist in the minds of individuals so placed who aspire to rise above their station.

One dark-skinned girl in this plight wrote to a public authority after making unsuccessfully the round of offices in search of employment. After outlining her qualifications and her plight, she appealed to the authority to do something "to relieve me of the grief of being a negro."

The dark-skinned man of the lower middle class faces the psychological loss of seeing most of the desirable women of his own social group, from a sexual-aesthetic point of view, gravitate away from him. The calypso "Blacker the woman sweeter she be" which is the sole evidence of positive evaluation of dark-skin colour, was not composed

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in Trinidad; it was written by a calypsonian who had emigrated to the United States and composed it there. The sentiments expressed are foreign to the lower-class Trinidadian. One of these, a policeman, described how he married a light-skinned "Spanish" girl from the village of Matelot. In the village there she could be seen walking "with her ten commandments", barefoot. However, soon after marriage he was transferred to Port of Spain. In the village nearby everyone could, in the stratification system of the island as a whole, be considered lower class. In the richer stratification of the city she "got to know the value of her colour". Men more highly placed than the dark-skinned policeman courted her favours, and she ended by becoming friendly with an American.

It is sometimes tragic to see the crowds of dark-skinned lower class young men standing outside the shops regarding the clerks and commenting on them, expressing their preference for this or the other, while inside the girls of the same social group look around at them disdainfully, giving no encouragement. On one occasion the writer, in seeking to obtain information from a brown girl of the lower class, sought to establish rapport by showing that he was aware of her friendship with a man named R . . . Normally on that level such information would have been welcomed as showing an interest in the personal life of the individual which was not expected, and even considered undeserved. However, on this occasion there was strong resentment shown. The reason was that R . . . was black. The girl blurted out, "What do you mean by saying R . . . . is my friend! My man is Q. . . ., a Chinese. I don't business with black people, I strictly brown skin!"

Sometimes a great fuss ensues as the result of advertisements in the newspapers which indicate that only Europeans need apply. But even where Negro businessmen get established in a small enterprise, discrimination sometimes finds itself directed against the dark-skinned person. Thus, one small Negro shop once had the advertisement hung outside, "Wanted: Girl waitress, only brown skin need apply."

If there is little mobility in the society, this is largely due to the lack of economic opportunity. The greatest blow at discrimination against the dark-skinned and against the lower class came as a result of increased economic provision, consequent upon the establishment of the American bases in the island. Then, as jobs became more easily obtained, the privileged group held on less tightly to their positions. In the employment practices of the Americans there was often discrimination, based on the action of local selectors against dark-skinned girls, and even against men. However, the general shortage of people to fill clerical jobs and the low rate of pay existing in Government

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offices at the junior level, combined to open a wedge for the dark-skinned lower-middle class and for the upper lower-class. These positions, once established, could hardly be interfered with, granted the public commitment to a universalistic scale of values.

In the absence of any economic expansion, however, it is difficult to see how discrimination against the dark-skinned, and in particular those of the lower class, can come to an end. The discrimination is based not only on an ascriptive basis, but also on a particularistic one. That is to say, the individuals who find themselves in privileged positions do not merely deny the dark-skinned person employment because they do not like working with them, or because they prefer to have light-skinned people around. In a society where there are few jobs to go around, the particularistic ties of kinship and friendship are also of importance.

Increased economic opportunity would not only allow individuals to rise socially, but, on a sufficiently large scale, might lead to the culture and values of the lower class increasingly becoming those of the society as a whole.

There seems little likelihood of any such development taking place and mobility for the lower-class person is particularly difficult. What, then, are the features which differentiate the lower class from the middle class? One of the most important of these is difference in family organization. Among the lower class the pattern of common-law union is well established.

The common-law marriage is in the eyes of the middle-class, as one Minister of religion has put it, neither legal nor marriage, it is just common. It is not the only form of marriage among the working-class and indeed, in Port of Spain, it may not even be the predominant form.[a] None the less, for many individuals it is the accepted form. Such people when they have risen in the social and occupational scale find that the new status is incompatible with their old form of marriage. Thus B . . . ., a skilled workman, gradually worked himself into a position of some security and launched out successfully as an independent businessman. He moved into a new district with his common-law wife. Gradually, as his wealth increased, he sought to assume as many middle-class attributes as possible. People in the neighbourhood had assumed that the couple were legally married, and had entitled them Mr. and Mrs. The position eventually became unbearable to B . . . . who applied for a special licence to be married

[a] The census figures show a very low degree of common-law unions. However, once people had ever been married they were registered as being married although at the time of union they were partners in a common-law union. Further the greater exposure of the urban working class to middle-class attitudes may have led to distortion in the filling out of census forms. The figures show the institution of "frien'ing" to be well established in the city.

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without the publication of due notice, since he was ashamed to let the public know that he had been living in a common-law union.

This sort of conflict occurs frequently in the towns where the working-class are more exposed to the upper-class and middle-class standard. The difference between the respectable married woman and the type who is "living in sin" in a common-law union, was frequently made when working-class women quarrelled.

Even where there was a high marriage rate, as in Port of Spain, the failure of the legal marriage led to the assumption of a new common-law status without the social disgrace that a similar step among the middle class implied.

The institution of "frien'ing" or informal relationship without a common household was also widespread among the lower classes, while until recently such a situation applied to only a small group among the middle class. Pre-marital intercourse almost inevitably developed among the working class and the instability of the "frien'ing" relationship as well as the common-law union gave the lower classes a reputation for sexual promiscuity which horrified the middle-class.

This was one of the features of working-class life which led the middle class to try to seal off themselves as much as possible from contact with the lower classes. The middle-class children were sent first of all to the "private" schools which were fee-paying and then on to the intermediate schools, where likewise the payment of fees kept out the working-class children. Informal contacts with lower-class children were forbidden and great stress was placed on the proper choice of friends.[a] The lower-class children went more perfunctorily to the free public schools.

The absence of a common school for all the citizens, then, helped to perpetuate the social division between the classes. However, even the institution of fees was not sufficient to keep out the lower-class children from the "better" schools, and many middle-class children had their first initiation into the way the other half lived, on going to the fee-charging "intermediate" school.

Other things which differentiated the lower classes from the middle classes and which held particular horror for the middle classes were:

(a) aggressive behaviour, including in many cases criminal behaviour;

(b) the use of swear words;

[a] Previously the term "Rabs" (presumably from street Arab) was in common use among the middle class as a designation of the lower class child, and among the lower class as a term of abuse. With the new set of social relationships the term has practically fallen into disuse.

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(c) differences in dress and taste;
(d) difference not so much in language and dialect as in mode of expression;
(e) affiliation to various religious cults which permitted a greater display of emotionalism;
(f) differences in residential location;
(g) differences in attitude towards education and consequently of educational attainment.

The possession of all these categories was not necessary in order to place the individual in the lower-class bracket, but rather the possession of a sufficient number of them.

(a) *Aggressive behaviour.*

The aggressive behaviour of the working class was naturally marked. Wife-beating, fights in the streets, drunken brawls, fights among lower-class school children, this was the sort of thing which it was expected by the middle class would occur among the lower classes. This naturally provoked contact with the law. Attendance at a law-court, even as a witness, was something viewed as a disgrace by people of the lower middle class and by individuals of the lower class who were climbing to higher social positions. Whole areas of the town became known for their aggressive and criminal behaviour. To be called a "La Cour Harpe" boy a generation ago was to imply criminal associations. Today the association of the Steel Band with crime has replaced something of the identification of specific localities with criminal behaviour, but the association remains.

(b) *Use of swear words.*

The use of swear words as a regular part of the language of the lower-class marked them off. Four-letter words which were taboo to the middle-class child were chalked along the street walls by the lower-class child. Lower-class adults, particularly when indulging in aggressive behaviour, set no limit to their language. So regular was the use of obscene language, that on prosecution one magistrate would enquire from the police whether any decent people were present and the offence was considered serious only if the obscene language had been used in their presence.

(c) *Differences in dress and taste.*

The difference in dress as between the lower classes and the middle classes was marked a little over ten years ago. It was expected that the middle-class person would wear a coat and tie, otherwise he would not consider himself respectably dressed. At that time individuals who wore three piece suits were regarded either as working class clowns, who aspired above their station, or as really res-

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pectable men. At the present moment among doctors and lawyers, and big business, the wearing of the coat and tie is still symbolic of high status. Many doctors, indeed, wear thick tweed suits, and the lawyer dare not appear in the courts if not properly dressed. In spite of the tropical climate some still achieve the feat of wearing "court wear", the black silk coat and bands, and the wig and gown, of the English barrister. In ordinary life the coat is never shed in public except perhaps at a sporting event.

The breakdown of the "coat and tie" standard of respectability came about during the second World War, with the advent of the Americans. Here, a social group identified as belonging to the "racially superior" element brought their own unconventional ideas of hygiene and tropical dress. Moreover they enforced them on their workmen, some of whom would turn up to work as carpenters in sweat-stained jackets, which they continued to keep on while at work. At the same time shortages of material, the war-time atmosphere, and the sharply rising cost of living caused a change in the attitude of the lower middle classes. The final blow came when an official circular permitted civil servants to attend work in shorts and in sport shirts without ties.

In the meantime changes were also taking place in the working-classes. Due to the importation of cheap Japanese shoes in the '30s, the "barefooted man" of Captain Cipriani had become well accustomed, at least in the town, to wearing shoes, and the term itself had fallen into disuse. The simplification of middle-class dress did not lead to a uniformity of apparel. The working class showed their different standards of taste by imitating the zoot-suiters of the United States. The pin-point trousers, the huge fold of the gold ring were elaborated upon until three-pocket coats became the fashion. Another characteristic of the form of dress of the working class is that the working man frequently wears his best suits to work. This is partly because of the prejudice among some working-class men against the use of materials such as khaki which are the badge of the working man, and of lower class status. More important is the fact that in good times the worker tends to spend an inordinate amount of money on clothes; when bad times come he is forced to fall back on his best suits for every-day wear. This is not so general as really to vitiate the equalizing tendency of the dress reform brought about by the Americans.

The difference in dress was only a reflection of the different patterns of consumption and standards of taste as between the middle-class and the working class. Although there is a predilection for immediate consumption among all groups, it is more marked in the working class. In the middle class the expenditure undertaken im-

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mediately seems to lie more in the direction of establishing social status by acquiring as soon as possible the outward and visible signs thereof. The orientation is towards the society as a whole. In the case of the lower class, this expenditure seems to be justified in terms not of the reaction of the whole society or even certain sections of the social hierarchy, but of the reaction of the lower-class section alone. In both there seems to be a personality need which, in addition to the pressure to assert social status, impels towards immediate, rather than postponed consumption but the tendency seems to be much more marked among the lower classes.

In both classes there is a heavy expenditure on drink and clothing, but the middle-class man being more family-minded, is likely to think in terms of the future. The working-class man, on the other hand, hardly thinks in such terms at all. This is related to the different occupational experiences and the different family backgrounds of the two classes.

The middle-class man is usually engaged in some profession or employment where he works either at a fixed salary or has to have some idea of what his income is. He has to provide for income tax; his standard of living causes him to think ahead about heavy expenditure on certain items—a house, furniture, the secondary education of the young. All these produce a forward look which is conspicuously absent among many sections of the lower class.

In the working class there is, at best, weekly payment of wages, and the wages are computed by the day and by the hour. Employment in the case of the rural districts is seasonal, in the case of some of the occupations of the towns, casual. Even when regularly employed the lower class man finds that commitments to relatives and friends not similarly placed, but from whom he may have received kindnesses during his period of unemployment, make any long-term planning difficult. Moreover, his standard of living is low and this has accustomed him to spending his money on items which are within his limited purchasing power. An increase in income does not seem to result in a changed pattern of spending, but merely in increased expenditure on the same sort of items. There is not a sufficient percolation of middle-class attitudes and values down into the working class to motivate the lower-class individual in receipt of increased income to spend it in the same fashion as a middle-class person.

(d) *Language.*

The speech differences between the two classes are not as marked as in some of the other islands. At one time the difference between English, the official language and the language of the main section of the upper classes, and the French creole, the language of the lower

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classes in particular, was quite marked. Differences in manner of expression and in grammar still exist. The middle-class accent is distinguishable from the lower-class accent of the town and both from the lower-class accent of the countryside. In actual pronunciation and grammar there are also marked differences: "th" becomes "d" and we have "dat", "den", "dere" for "that", "then", "there". Another characteristic of the speech of the lower classes is the use of singular verbs with plural nouns. Sensitivity to both these mistakes sometimes causes mistakes in the other direction. Thus, the "th" is frequently put in place of a "t", e.g., in "inthrigue" for "intrigue". And some working-class people who speak passable English are so convinced that they speak incorrectly that they make a worse job of it when attempting to speak proper English than they would normally. There is a joke about the working man who went to see his girl. She played the piano for him. "You plays nicely," he remarked. "Yesly," she blushed in reply. One of the most marked features is in the changing of tenses. Thus "you were" of popular speech becomes "corrected" to "you was".

(e) *Revivalist Religious Sects*

Certain of the religions which draw their support entirely from the lower class are more respectable than others. Thus the member of the Pilgrim Holiness and the Gospel Hall, the Seventh Day Adventist, the Jehovah Witness, are most likely to be drawn from the upper lower class and will possess members even from the lower middle-class. These religions, although they do not enjoy the esteem of the Roman Catholic, Church of England, Presbyterian and Methodist religions, are relatively 'respectable'.

The real religious cults which draw their adherents exclusively from the lower class are the Spiritual Baptists, the Shango groups, and various faith-healing revivalist sects. The only one of these religions that is organized on an island-wide basis is that of the Spiritual Baptists. Up to three years ago the Spiritual Baptists were prosecuted at law for practising their cult. However, the law which prohibited the exercise of the cult has now been repealed. The doctrinal beliefs of the Spiritual Baptists are at a minimum. The cult is really a religion of certain practices organized around the leader of the group. Among these practices are the seeing of visions, the interpretation of dreams, testifying, possession by the spirit, total immersion baptism, opening the Bible at a chance point and interpreting the selected passages.

The Shouters, as Herskovits (14) has pointed out, have large African elements in their composition. The head-tie is characteristically African and so apparently is the violent seizure which is liable

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to fall upon the devotee of the cult. What stand out in the public mind as its most characteristic features are the hymn singing and grunting by which possession is induced, and the violent nature of the possession itself.

The organization of the Spiritual Baptists on an island-wide scale is of recent origin only. It seems that with the removal of the legal prohibitions, the Spiritual Baptists are making a bid to become respectable. The essentials of their religious behaviour violate the code of the more highly placed classes so completely, however, that it would have to reform itself out of existence in order to find recognition.

Although Spiritual Baptists form only a small percentage of the working-class, the emotionalism which characterizes their religion finds a ready response among the people. Thus in the countryside and in the outlying districts of the town the all-night wake with revivalist type of hymn singing is indulged in. Sometimes the Spiritual Baptists are called in when some special or cult knowledge is needed.

The emotionalism and colour that hymn singing and dancing give to the lives of members of the working class also find expression in some of the more spontaneous religious cults that spring up among the lower class. At the moment the stage is being held by the 'Coptic Bishop', who claims to be a Bishop of the Egyptian Coptic Church. In some areas there has been a good response. The Order of Melchisedek in which patriarchal beards, colourful robes, and huge shepherd staves figured received a great deal of support in lower-class Port of Spain. These have been only the most outstanding of the little sects which arise "spontaneously". Of course there is the Salvation Army, but it obtains less support than would be expected, perhaps because of its more formal structure.

(g) *Educational Attitudes and Attainment.*

The failure to provide education in the island for everyone, has been due only in part to the inability of the economy to pay the teachers and establish the necessary schools. At least unconsciously, but at times quite explicitly, the problem arises "What are we educating the people for?" There was the feeling in some circles (19) that the provision of education would only create a group of people unwilling to work in the fields and in the factory and aspiring to be clerks. The education given was so book-centred and examination-oriented that it functioned in part at least as a pull away from manual and agricultural work. Hence the educational system was geared to the satisfaction of the demand for education. There was no conscious push, except on the part of a few middle-class enthusiasts, to provide really universal educational opportunity. Rather in response to the pres-

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sure of a religious body here or of an industry there, schools were established or supported, the Government stepping in only where there was gross need.

Whatever the cause, the fact is that large sections of the working classes are illiterate. The figures given in the Census indicate that only 25% of the population is illiterate. But literacy as there defined is merely the reported ability to read and write and the percentage of the population that is functionally literate (that is, if we take a standard of being able *effectively* to read and write) is considerably smaller.

Not only is the lower class deprived of educational facilities, except in the towns where compulsory education prevails, but their attitudes to education tend to be somewhat different from those of the middle and the upper classes. Whereas the latter strive to provide for all their children a secondary education and, increasingly, whenever possible (and it is often not possible for the middle classes) a higher education, the lower classes, except in the upper levels in the towns, are content with an elementary or primary education.

Moreover, even on this level the concern with education is not sustained. If a child is bright and shows some possibility of obtaining a free secondary education, he is encouraged to attend school regularly. Here the attitude to education as a means to social mobility is exactly the same as in the middle class. Once the child has continued as far as the exhibition class, he is encouraged to compete although his chances may be quite poor. This applies chiefly to the towns, however, as in the country schools compulsory education is not enforced and attendance is irregular.

The gap between the lower classes and the rest of the society has important consequences for the social structure now that the form of social control which kept the lower classes placed at the foot of the hierarchy has broken down. Previously the differences in standards had been identified very largely by the lower class as signs of inferiority. In particular the inferiority which sprang from racial identification and economic dependency was marked.

The lower-class shared with the whole society the negative evaluation of the black skin. "The only thing that black that's good, is ink"; "My mother take me out of Africa, why should I go back there"; "I don't like too many dark people around me;" "I want somebody to lighten up my complexion"—these are typical working-class remarks. The acceptance of the race-skin-colour hierarchy and their position at the lowest end thereof was shown in a variety of ways. One of the most marked was the tendency of domestics to prefer to work for white people rather than for coloured people.

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This was justified not only on the higher wages received, but as a general principle. It seemed that the domestic found it easier to accept subordination to, and identification with, a white mistress.

With the war, however, this acceptance by the lower class of white superiority, and of identification with British might, disappeared. The reverses which the Allies suffered at the hands of the Germans and Japanese impressed those who were predisposed psychologically to accept strength and power as the mark of real authority. A great deal of their acceptance of the social order was due to the belief in and admiration of British power; even though this had been shaken by the strikes of 1937 as well as the decline of British prestige in the Munich period. The military reverses brought about a sharp shift in loyalties, the new rival power getting as uncritical a reception as the old one before.

We have already discussed how the arrival of the Americans and the establishment of the bases in Trinidad gave an additional impetus to the re-evaluation of the white man. The automatic association of whiteness with power and prestige ceased. Further, the Americans gave a vantage ground from which the British social order could be compared and criticized. Contacts with the United States had always led to a comparison of the British and the American ways of treating Negroes. Now this comparison assumed significance for all details of life; dress, speech, attitudes to work, to the spending of money, to relationships with subordinate staff.

At first the Americans were enthusiastically welcomed, but gradually resentment against them grew. The high wages were welcomed, the more democratic and less conservative attitudes gratified those anxious to revolt against the accepted order. But the violence following on the American occupation, the instances of crude treatment of the local population, and the Americans' extra-territorial status (which led, in the opinion of many Trinidadians, to injustices to the local population and to the accumulation of grievances without redress) brought about a reversal of attitude.

None the less, the employment opportunities that the base work offered made for a fundamental change in the self-assertion of the lower classes. There was no longer the servile fear of the boss, the clinging to the job at all costs, the need to ingratiate oneself with a powerful patron. The worker could leave his job and know that a new one awaited him. Dependence on the generosity of the shopkeeper for credit for the very necessaries of life ceased. The working man began to feel himself a man. His wife instead of buying her groceries and then begging for something extra, "a piece of salt-pork", "a dust of flour or a dust of salt" could walk into the shop and con-

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fidently purchase. It is difficult to exaggerate the degree of personal dignity which came to the working class as a result of full employment.

However, to most of those who received employment at the bases this opportunity was used not to increase the standard of living in a middle-class direction, but in the conspicuous consumption characteristic of the working class. This was only an indication of the failure of the society to establish a common set of norms for all groups. The basic norm which held the society together was that of racial superiority and inferiority and when that broke the unity of the society was imperilled.

Socially deviant behaviour among the lower class increased on a large scale. Gang warfare took on unprecedented proportions and acts of aggression, many of which did not reach the attention of the police or the courts, multiplied. As a result of the wave of violent crime, flogging for certain criminal offences was introduced. This was strongly opposed by the elected members and in the debate in the Legislative Council the Attorney General was able to point out the increase in crimes of violence. For instance, in 1937 there had been 17 cases of robbery with violence. In 1944 there had been 1,008. Woundings had increased from 80 in 1916 to 165 in 1920, to 352 in 1942, to 500 in 1944. Cases of rape were 24 in 1941, 35 in 1944. There had also been a sharp increase in the number of murders. The "Flogging Bill" was eventually passed into law.

This law and the controversy it stirred up are a good illustration of how class factors enter occasionally into legislation. The outbreak of crime had proceeded for some time without any effective measures having been taken to cope with it. No energetic efforts seem to have been made to stop the flow from the police force by increasing pay, and the punitive attitude of the police only tended to aggravate the situation. In the meanwhile, the Government, prompted by the recent concern in social welfare, appointed Probation Officers to the Courts. Things drifted along in this amiable fashion until certain sections of public opinion were outraged by the collective assault which a group of young men of the lower class made on three upper-class Trinidadians. Several of the upper-class group who previously had opposed the introduction of flogging now advocated it.

On the other hand many of the coloured middle-class and the radical leaders of the trade unions considered that the legislation had been introduced purely because white girls had been involved in the incident. A well-known elected member specifically alleged in the Legislative Council that this was the motive. He pointed out that there had been cases of rape involving decent and respectable citizens, but that nothing had been done. Now however,

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with the assault on white women the Government hastened to bring in corporal punishment. It was a species of class legislation.

The issue was fought particularly bitterly because of the associations of flogging with slavery, and in the post-emancipation period with its imposition for praedial larceny. On the part of the lower class, however, the bill did not create much of a stir. It is an indication of the way in which the lower class, and indeed, the whole society, became habituated to aggression that the Calypso "The Old-time Cat-o'-nine" sung in connection with the new legislation was one of the most popular of the period.

"The Old-time Cat-o'-nine
Lash them hard! And they bound to change their mind
Send them Carrera with licks like fire
And they bound to surrender."

Another way in which the gap between the lower class and the middle classes affected the society was in providing low motivation to work. This has frequently been alleged and as frequently denied. At a time when the productivity of labour is of importance, it cannot be overlooked. The jokes and the Calypsos give us a hint that behind the smoke there is fire. It is alleged that one lower-class man on speaking to another member of the lower class was overheard to remark: "Harry, I think a going to look for a work, yes." "Work," replied his friend, "I hear that is a thing that does kill you."

At the same time there have been Calypsos:

"I wouldn't work I rather lahe (idle)
For when you work you don't get pay
Is only work you working all day
I wouldn't work I rather lahe!"

and more recent and more apposite:

"My grandfather die going to wo'k
My grandmother die coming from wo'k
Wo'k kill my auntie on a Truck
So I wonder who the hell will get me to wo'k."

More serious as evidence is the experience at the Trinidad Government Railway where the provision of an extra bonus for regular attendance has failed to produce a corresponding response on the part of the worker.[a] On the other hand it has frequently been pointed out that with the establishment of the American bases the working class in the island showed themselves prepared to work long hours at night shifts, and extremely hard. The experience of these times appears,

[a] The Benham Committee reporting on the sugar industry commented on the sporadic nature of the labourer's work in that industry. In the sugar industry, too, the bonus system to ensure regularity of work has been introduced.

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however, to be abnormal. The increases in salary and employment were so phenomenal that they necessarily did motivate. At the same time, however, there was no serious check on the effectiveness of work. Even under these conditions there were signs of an antagonism towards authority, and of poor labour attitudes. There was undoubtedly a high rate of labour turnover and much absenteeism which it was difficult to control.

In a sense the experience of the American bosses shows that extraordinary effort is possible by the working-class. However, the normal conditions of the society do not offer sufficient inducements to make the discipline of regular work congenial and to remove the "restrictionist" attitude to work.

LOWER-CLASS AGGRESSION AND AGGRESSION AGAINST THE LOWER CLASS

The "aggressiveness" of the lower class West Indian has frequently been commented upon. What tends to escape the notice of both the Trinidadian of the upper classes and the superficial visitor is the aggression which in a sense is directed *against* the lower class. The middle class Trinidadian is not even conscious of this aggression because he is not usually personally involved or just takes for granted the institutionalized forms in which this aggression manifests itself.

> "They could be cruel but not rude
> Strangling beneath propriety".

We have already seen how the approach to gambling has led to a differential incidence of prosecution for this practice. In another more fundamental respect, however, the forces of law and order work in a manner detrimental to the lower class.

The system of recruitment and organization of the police in the area led inevitably to the development of a certain hostility which was directed against the lower class. The maintenance of law and order was one of the prime concerns of the Government and the quelling of disorders had to be provided for. The colonial areas in themselves furnished no military forces with which to defend themselves. The acceptance of rioting as endemic in the colonial empire and the use of troops for the purpose of putting down such disturbances was openly recognized in some quarters.[a]

[a] Major-General Sir Charles W. Gwynn points out as a justification for his work that officers of the Army and other fighting Services are "often called on to co-operate with them (the civil Police authorities) or to carry out similar duties independently. He therefore proposes to give examples of the police work they may be required to carry out." Also "the general public, so far as it is interested in the maintenance of law and order in the outlying countries of the Empire, should realize what an important part the Army plays as a reserve of force in support of the civil administration". ("Imperial Policing", Macmillan, 1937).

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The effect of the need to use the police force as a potential weapon against internal disturbance and external threat led to a policy of exclusive staffing of the officer ranks of the force and to a strong military discipline. In the staffing, the phenomenon of discrimination with privileged exceptions also appeared. For years only one or two coloured officers were appointed to the rank of Sub-Inspector, then the pattern of discrimination started to break down. Failure to make appointments of coloured persons to Sub-Inspector rank had, indeed, been one of the most visible signs of racial discrimination. "White Sub-Inspector" was indeed symbolic of this discrimination to the coloured population. This seems to have been recognized by the authorities, who eventually opened the whole Sub-Inspector field to people appointed from the ranks. However, the pattern of discrimination with privileged exceptions reappeared in the superior rank of Superintendent.

The effect of this cleavage between the ranks and the officers, and the policy of gazetting only coloured persons who had served in the ranks meant that the police force, unlike the general Civil Service, had no policy of "West Indianization". It also led to a certain distance between officers and men and to a type of discipline which seemed to generate a great deal of hostility against the superior officer. This hostility was denied any institutionalized form of expression for security reasons. Consequently, a great deal of the aggression generated was expended against the mass of the people. Superficially, of course, all was well; but it was generally held that many of the police took bribes. This was both universally believed and had as well some foundation in fact. Another form of aggression was the beating of drunks when they were arrested for disorderly behaviour. A decade ago drunk and disorderly persons, instead of being taken away by a police car, would be hitched by the trousers and pushed through the streets. Naturally this would lead to resistance, especially as rum, the drink of the working class, is a potent one and drunks were frequently not in a position to make the journey even when encouraged by friendly aid. Thus it was that "Beat and arrest" came to be accepted by the people as the philosophy and guiding slogan of police action.

The plundering of the general community by certain members of the police force took place. It was necessary, those members of the lower class who engaged in business activity believed, to be on the right side of the police. Hence gifts would be made even when unsolicited. A frequent sight during race meetings was the arrest of persons illegally running card and dice games and their release after surrendering their winnings or a portion of them. Among taxi

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drivers and others who come under frequent police supervision there is still the complaint of depredations on the part of the police.

The power of the police to "give a case" and the class bias of the magistrates which sometimes tended to make them give too ready an ear to the evidence of the police, meant that a certain amount of injustice was meted out unwittingly to the working-class. The effect of the magistracy and its decisions on the lower class elements of the population cannot be overrated. Every now and then cases of grossly visible prejudice arise. Thus, in "A Doctor's Office", Dr. Tothill cites newspaper reports of a case in which a mechanic was fined for coming to court in his working clothes. Another recent indication of abuse of power by a magistrate has been brought to light and disciplinary action taken. However, more important than the occasional abuses of power was the fact that magistrates who passed sentences on offenders were frequently quite unaware of the consequences of their actions. The belief in the strong hand, the attachment to the "lash them hard" school of the Calypsonian—such was the outlook on punishment of some magistrates. Of course this was merely an exaggeration of a tendency which has frequently been commented upon in other countries. It is interesting to note that although there has been some response to the more liberal aspects of reform, this has only been partial. Thus one magistrate who visited the new "prison without bars" noted that none of his colleagues had yet done so and wondered why this was the case.

The magistrates have also suffered from the fact that they are employees in the Civil Service. There has never been any system by which honorary Justices of the Peace administered justice. All magistrates are stipendaries who have practised at the bar, usually for a period of five years, before joining the Service. The independence of the magistrates or the judges has never been specifically stated. In general this independence, although not statutorily granted, has been unofficially recognized. It should be noted, however, that magistrates depend for their promotion to the higher ranks of the judiciary upon being efficient civil servants. There are also various ways by which magistrates could be unofficially disciplined. Thus failure to obtain promotion or appointment to a coveted position might be the consequence of recalcitrance, or the individual might find himself transferred to an undesirable district: at least, this was widely believed.

Further, it was a popular belief that on occasion it was the practice of the police to send directions to magistrates as to how they should handle certain offenders. Magistrates have been known

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to protest in court against extraneous attempts at interference. Among the general public as well as among practitioners in the magistrate's court it was customary to divide, rightfully or wrongfully, the "good" magistrates from the independent ones. Certainly before sentences were passed on criminal offenders the magistrate paid due attention to the remarks and requests of the prosecuting police.

The lower-class individual, furthermore, did not possess any contact which could make possible the compounding of cases such as sometimes happened where middle class and upper class persons were involved. There have, as far as the writer knows, never been any such gross cases as that in a neighbouring island where a policeman was made to apologize to a doctor who was also a member of the legislature for having made the mistake of taking his name and address as a preliminary to prosecution for bad parking. But intervention behind the scenes on behalf of certain individuals in order that prosecutions may be dropped or pursued not too vigorously have occurred. Thus although there was formal equality before the law the system of social stratification led to some extent to penalizing the lower class. Where the lower class person attempted to bribe the policeman, his sole contact with the administration, he faced the danger of both losing his money and obtaining a double prosecution, first for the alleged offence and secondly for proffering a bribe. If the policeman was corrupt the safest course of conduct was to receive the bribe and to report the offence and his refusal to his superiors. It was possible, in this case at least, to get the best of both worlds.

One reflection of the distance between the people and the police was the failure of the police force to attract a suitable number of recruits. Traditionally the Force was supposed to attract only the more desperate of the inhabitants. Many of the older heads in Trinidad allege that one of the ways of reforming certain potential wrongdoers was to get them incorporated into the police force: whether this led to reform in character or to a mere re-direction of their energies into protected channels it is impossible to say. Whether this tradition is true or not, the mere fact of its existence is significant. The failure to attract Trinidadians to the Force has led to a considerable recruitment from the neighbouring islands, although in recent years increases in pay and in possibilities of promotion have led to a greater interest in the police force as a career on the part of Trinidadians.

Other indications of the character of the relationship of the police to the people are manifold. It is not accidental that the

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people tried for the murder, during the 1937 riots, of Charles King, who held a reputation as a "bad police" were acquitted without the defence being called upon, and that this decision met with popular approval. Was it because so many of the people were criminals that they sang in the streets —

"Rah-ti Rah-ti-rah
Rah-ti rah-ti-reh
Kola dead and gone,"

when the famous police detective 'Kola' passed away?

DIFFERENTIATIONS WITHIN THE LOWER CLASSES

The fact that members of the lower class make differentiations among themselves which are not observed by the upper social classes has already been commented upon. In the case of Trinidad the sharp divergence in culture between the lower class and the rest of the society causes the disparity between these judgements to be even more marked.

The common ascriptive values of "ethnicity" and skin colour reach down into the lower class. The light skin colour is highly prized; and here as elsewhere we would expect to find the same mobility through marriage in an attempt to break through the dividing lines of caste and class. However, the lower-class member of the society is not able, like so many of the middle class, to go outside of the society in order to obtain a European wife: the sole chance of biological admixture is between white men and lower-class women. The frequent visits of foreign seamen and the presence——previously in larger numbers than at present — of American forces on the island make such an admixture possible.

At first glance it might be thought that because of the "looseness" of the male ties in the lower class family, ready recourse would be made by the lower-class woman to this source of "lightening up the complexion". It is an indication of how far down middle-class values have reached into the lower class that this is not the case. While the child of a relatively stable union with a European man would be welcomed, the idea of getting a child from a casual union is abhorred. This would tend to place the mother of the child in the category of prostitute; or at least would awaken suspicion that she should be placed there. Nowadays, with the greater sophistication in birth control techniques, there is less likelihood of children being produced by casual unions. But a generation ago this was not so, and the term "sailor child" was in general use as a category of description of those fair-skinned children who were the products of such casual unions. The term was also frequently used as a

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form of abuse indicating the origin of the child as a despised "bastard" and indirectly designating the mother as a prostitute.[a] Similarly nowadays the bearing of children to Americans would not arouse universal approval, even though during the war liaisons with Americans were legion. One reason for this is the rise of a sense of nationalism which resents the "exploitation" of the local women and looks askance at women who place themselves unreservedly at the disposal of the white foreigner. Indeed the conscious seeking of offspring, as opposed to mere friendship, would arouse the condemnation of the vast majority of the lower class.

The sensitivity of the lower class woman lest she be identified as a prostitute springs from the actual closeness of prostitution to her everyday life. In the lower class sections of the town many well-known prostitutes abide even though technically some have no fixed place of abode. Apart from the physical nearness, the straitened and precarious economic circumstances that face working-class girls, particularly in the towns, must constantly make prostitution a temptation to them. Employment facilities for women are very limited. It is confined to employment in small stores, hard physical labour, or domestic service. With regard to the first we have already mentioned that the "pretty" girl, defined in terms of the local values, possesses a special advantage. This very fact, however, sometimes makes her employment dependent upon complaisance towards her employer. The absence of women among the immigrant groups who dominate the retail trades frequently leads to liaisons of an impermanent nature. It is alleged that sometimes coercion of various sorts (such as threats of prosecution for theft of goods which have been given as presents by the proprietors) is used against the recalcitrant lower class girl. In any case the threat of dismissal is a potent weapon. Among domestics the conditions of work seem also to predispose to promiscuity.

Because of the lack of employment opportunities, women, particularly in the town, tend to be dependent upon men. When such feminine dependence occurs in a society in which there is a stable family system, it has no deleterious effects. But in the towns of Trinidad the relationship between men and women in the immediate family have a fluidity not often found in other societies. There is no pattern of arranged marriages, no systematic conventional pattern of courtship. The family tends therefore to be matricentral

[a] As an indication of the use of the term in a derogatory sense we may cite a Calypso. In the "war" (spontaneous attacks upon one another) of the Calypsonians, one singer thus referred to the fair-skinned 'Lord Executor':

"As I say these words Executor smile,
But tell me if he don't resemble a sailor child",

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in character. Again, although the lower class woman is expected to cook and do the washing of her partner, many other functions have been taken away from the home; and facilities for obtaining food and laundry outside the home are readily available in the towns. It would be easy to exaggerate the dearth of employment facilities in the area because of the absence of any large-scale industry which would make the employment of women highly visible. There are many opportunities for seamstresses and limited opportunities for employment as nurses; while domestic service, as we have seen, must be considered a main source of employment, but even when these services are taken into consideration there is still a wide gap between the supply and demand for female labour.

In the case of Trinidad, further, the dependence upon men for support occurs in a society where promiscuity is traditional and where the physical circumstances and the housing conditions further encourage it. This renders thin and tenuous the dividing line between casual relationships with a series of men and open prostitution. The ease with which large sections of the working class population of the urban areas pass over this dividing line is an indication of the "looseness" of family organization among the lower class.

This discussion has been undertaken in an attempt to throw light on one of the main dividing lines among the lower class: that is, between families which are oriented towards observing the middle class standards of "respectability" and "decency" and those to whom these standards are in large part a tedious external necessity towards which they are forced at times to adjust. There are on the one hand mothers who are particularly anxious to see their girl children raised according to the traditional middle class standards of pre-marital chastity and formal Christian marriage. On the other there are mothers who actually encourage liaisons with men. The difference can be seen by comparing two lower class mother-daughter relationships in Port of Spain.

J....lived with her mother and grandmother alone. Her father was an Englishman not resident in the island. Her mother worked at lower class occupations in order to support her daughter and tried outwardly at least to live a sexual life of extreme propriety in order to set a standard for her daughter. J...., herself, was fair-skinned, proud of the fact and aware of its social importance. She accepted the restrictions placed on her sexual behaviour and this seems to have been assisted by a certain frigidity produced by the absence of any father. Eventually she attracted attention from several lower class and lower middle class boys, and married one of the latter. In terms of the attitudes of mother and daughter alike, respectability

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has paid off by producing a middle class marriage. On the other hand, P.... was the product of a union between a coloured woman and a local white. Her mother continued this liaison for a considerable time and was known to be lax both in her sexual morality and in her general standards of behaviour. Her daughter, nicknamed on account of her fair skin "Lily White", was also considered beautiful and was much sought after. The combination of attractiveness and permissive sexual standards led however to "Lily White" being taken up by a lower class 'sweet-man' who introduced her into a life of prostitution in which she catered exclusively for foreigners.

The lines separating the two groups of mothers do not follow those which separate the legally married from the "common law" unions and the "fatherless" families. Indeed among the "illegitimate" mothers who have had to face the problem of raising children single-handed or still carry over from their youth the aspirations to better things than have been their lot in life, a somewhat puritanical attitude can sometimes be found. Sometimes they seek to conceal their affairs from their children in order to maintain their respectability in the latter's eyes at least. They project their ambitions on to their children (the girls in particular, but the boys too meet with a restraining hand); and they seek to protect them—a difficult task—from potentially harmful contacts. Naturally, this is most marked, as in the case of J...., where the girl is considered "good looking" and therefore has chances of getting married into the lower middle class.

The struggle for "respectability" shows itself most markedly in the struggle for legitimate status, but is usually only part of the struggle to accept the values of middle class society as a whole.

To put it otherwise: the main common value shared by the whole society is the ascriptive one of "ethnicity" and colour. However, among the upper and middle classes there are other shared values such as the norms of family life, the control of aggressive behaviour, etc. These other values are also shared, in aspiration at any rate, by a certain section of the lower class. Indeed without this there would be no incentive to upward mobility from lower to middle class and less possibility of mobility of the fair-skinned lower class girl through marriage.

However, the sharp divergence in cultural standards in other directions make certain individuals enjoy high status within the lower class community itself—a status which could not possibly be held, granted a strong allegiance to the more general scale of values.

Thus among the lower classes there are types who enjoy high

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status although they have violated the norms of the larger society. The *whe whe* banker who made his money by extra-legal means enjoyed high prestige in urban areas; and like the butcher—another lower class occupation which commanded a high income—he was often spoken of in awesome admiration.

Another indication of the divergence of standards is the popularity of certain criminal elements. Although there is no open support for the violation of the law there can be no doubt of the emotional identification of large sections of the lower class population for the "big bad" who violates the legal norms and gets away with it. The present vogue of reputations for courage and leadership in gang warfare—steel band or otherwise—seems to be merely the continuation of reputations for long held among the lower class. Thus the reputation of being a good stick-fighter was a factor bringing about high status within the lower class. Indeed, aggression within the family and in the everyday life of the child at school and at play is such a central focus of attention that it is not surprising to find that standards involving "competition in aggression" are used by members of the lower class in evaluating individuals. Similarly esteem could be gained among the lower class by calyso-singing. Nowadays this has become a more or less profitable occupation, but the tradition would never have been maintained if the rewards of achieving status among their own social group had not motivated a large section of the lower class. Calypso singing was only one way, if the most obvious, in which lower class values associated with Carnival brought about high status within this group.

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

Among the lower class the skilled worker enjoyed higher status than the unskilled. Indeed this differentiation within the lower class tended to be accepted throughout the society. This was not so much because of the difference of skill involved (although this element was present) but largely because there was such a harsh repudiation of all form of "labouring work" and "dirty work" as degrading. The differentiations along these lines tended to coincide with those between skilled and unskilled work. There were, however, even among the "hard work" jobs many which were universally despised. Thus the scavenging of the streets and the cleaning of pit latrines were considered the lowest forms of lowly work: the former because it was regarded as an occupation entirely Indian. In the opinion of most creole workers it was work fit only for "coolies" to do. Strangely enough, the majority of the closet-cleaners were creoles; and, subsequently, the shortage of labour during the second World War led to scavenging becoming a "creole" job once more, as

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immigrants from the other islands, not so bound by the status system of the Trinidad community, flooded into the island.

In connection with the differentiation between the lower class and the middle class there is one occupation which assumes special significance: domestic service. Here its symbolism is important. There can be little doubt that because of the personal subordination involved and the frequent direct supervision domestic work is felt as psychologically onerous.[a] The domestic is placed in a position where constant association and even certain responsibilities result in an intimate knowledge of the household. These forces work towards an assimilation with the primary group and for an emotional identification with the members of the family. At the same time the sharp definition of inferior status constantly acts to reject the domestic from the group. The humiliations involved are not made easier by the plentiful supply of cheap female labour. In fact the psychological humiliation of the domestic would appear to be a primary need of many a middle class woman who thus asserts her social superiority and validates her status. The frequent threat of dismissal, actual dismissal for trivial reasons, dismissals and re-employment—these to a large extent reflect the psychological relationship between mistress and domestic.

Frequently when middle class wives speak about their domestics they are critical and deplore their inability to get a "good servant". A "good" servant is not one that learns readily and assumes a position of responsibility in the household. Such training and responsibility are usually denied them. The middle class woman, "mistress in her own home", concerns herself with the details of the running of the household and it is really for relief from drudgery that she employs house help. Hence the "good" servant is one who works hard, accepts unconditionally the authority of the mistress, and is not "rude". The distance, psychological and social, between the middle and the lower classes is nowhere better illustrated than in this relationship. The failure of the common human qualities to override the social distinctions in this intimate relationship is most marked.

It is perhaps for this reason that the employment of the domestic becomes to the middle class a symbol of status and to the lower class individual an unequivocal badge of subordination. If an outstanding example of social mobility is asked for from the average Trinidadian, the fact that the son of some domestic has achieved

[a] Perhaps because of the shortage of domestic service in the highly industrialized countries there has been little attention paid to it in sociological literature although the role of the "black nurse" in the South has been commented upon. See however J. H. S. Bossard: "The Sociology of Child Development", E. R. Mowrer: "Disorganization: Personal and Social".

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professional success is frequently quoted. That a parent or a member of the immediate family is employed in domestic service is so unquestionably a sign of lower-class status, that those who aspire to move out of that class shun any such possible association; and if there is already some such association in existence they find this fact both socially and psychologically embarrassing.

The relationships between the domestic and the members of the family are symbolized in the mutual forms of address. The domestic servant is called by her first name. Frequently her second name is not known and no interest is shown in whether "May" or "Jane" is married or unmarried, single or in common-law relationship. When details of dependents are sought out it is in order to discover whether the servant is likely to steal food to support these dependents. Occasionally, of course, there is an element of personal concern which makes the mistress-servant relationship something of a feudal one.

On the part of the domestic her duty is to address the mistress of the house as "Madam" and the other members of the family, children as well as adults, married or unmarried, by their first names with "Mister" or "Miss" added, e.g. "Mr. John", "Miss Joan".

Something of this terminology and certainly of this attitude of mind spilled over into large sections of the lower class. The form of address used by the servant was taken over by any relatives or friends who came into contact with her employers. Occasionally this led to embarrassment, but more usually it was just accepted as in the natural order of things. Thus a few years ago two school teachers thrown into intimate contact with a member of a well-known white upper class family were heard to address him as "Mister Harry" and to enquire how "Master Jack" was.

KINSHIP TIES AMONG THE LOWER-CLASS

Kinship ties among the lower class, we have noted, are not one of the main means, as in some societies, of integrating the social structure. The main function of the kinship unit is in educating the young for their role within the social order and in rendering the affectionate pattern to the man which will enable him to fulfil his occupational role. Although this is perfectly clear in the case of the middle-clas family the position is somewhat obscured when we come to consider the lower-class family.

On the one hand social reformers have stressed illegitimacy and other features of the lower-class family as signs of pathological disorganization. On the whole these people have approached the problem from a purely middle-class point of view. Contrariwise some social

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scientists have reacted to the constant deploring of the lack of family life in the West Indies by pointing out that kinship obligations are extremely real, that the family as an institution has continuity, norms, and values even though these may be different from those obtaining in the middle class family.

However, there has been a tendency to concentrate on the study of the lower-class family and this has tended to obscure the deep cleavage which differences in family structure bring about in the integration of the society. There has also been a tendency to stress the similarity of functions of the family to those of the family in other cultures and societies. Thus stress has been laid on the fact that kinship ties are more widespread than in the more industrialized areas of the world. Hence in reacting against the too-rash generalizations about the "pathology" and disorganization of family life, there has been a tendency to ignore the actual content of family organization and the way in which it "fits" into the total social system.

The main points about the lower-class family in Trinidad society would appear to be as follows:—

1. The lower-class family is more matricentral in character than the middle-class family. Roughly one third of the children born are to mothers in no stable union at all; one third are born to common-law unions which generally tend to be unstable in character; and the remaining third are born to legally married couples. The stability of these unions has tended to be taken for granted although there is much evidence to indicate that this is not always the case. As a result of these facts the lower-class mother plays a central role in the immediate family.
2. The 'immediate' family consisting of husband (if any), wife and child with the addition of dependent grand-parents and, particularly, the grandmother, is the most widespread pattern of the household.
3. The unit consisting of grandmother, daughter and children would appear to be a widespread form of household organization. In such a household authority frequently lies with the grandmother or is shared.
4. As a result of the prevalent type of family organization and the central position of the mother, frequently adult men contribute to the support of the family of orientation rather than the family of procreation.
5. Kinship ties beyond those of the family units thus described are recognized. There is even a tendency for general kinship terms to be carried over into other social relationships. Thus "Uncle"

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and "Aunt" are used as terms of address by many children towards all adults with whom they come into close personal relationship. Relations are sometimes traced at great length, but the diffuse solidarity of the extended kinship group is extremely tenuous and completely subordinated to the system of social stratification and other forms of integrating the social system.

The main functions of the lower-class unit have still to be thoroughly examined. There has been no large-scale research done in the urban lower-class family, and as much light has been thrown upon it by the perceptive novelist as from any other source. In particular C. L. R. James' autobiographical novel "Minty Alley" and Alfred Mendez' "Black Fauns" are rich in insight. The lower-class family in the village has been described by the Herskovitses in "Trinidad Village" while Dom Basil Matthews' study of family structure in Trinidad as a whole is to be published shortly. Since the problem of lower-class family life will be discussed at length elsewhere, only some points relevant to the role of the lower-class family as an educational agency will be dealt with here.

As the social order relegated the lower class to a position from which, for the most part there was likely to be little mobility, the working-class family fulfilled its functions once it produced a sufficient number of adults willing to accept this ascriptive position.[a] The main values of the society as regards skin colour were transmitted by the family. The incorporation of these values thus transmitted tended to produce self-depreciation and the relatively shiftless, ambition-less type of working-class person. Although the prevalence of such types among the lower class is frequently deplored by the upper classes the existence of such types in sufficiently large numbers was a necessary condition for the stability of the social order.

The main instrument of discipline and affection and the main transmitter of these values was the lower-class mother. It is naturally in the urban areas that the pressures to accept the class system were greatest and racial consciousness as a consequence is much greater than in the countryside.

The result of the central position of the mothers as an educational force tended to develop a certain ambivalence toward authority. However, the indoctrination of the specific ethnic values of the society necessarily tended to increase that ambivalence.

Whereas the middle-class mother tended to be light-skinned and

[a] The similarity of psychology between all groups "outside the Social System" is most marked although in colonial areas the tendency is to resort to racial interpretations. In this connection see J.C. Carrothers, (6),

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the ethnic values resulted in the loss of status in the immediate family of the father, the lower-class mother was usually herself black. On the one hand emotional identification with the mother led to an acceptance of the dark skin as in itself lovable, while the introjection of the scale of colour values of the society led to its rejection. In the sphere of sexual relations this sometimes leads to unexpected and contradictory behaviour. Thus the girl who vocally rejects all associations with the dark skin sometimes finds herself in love with a dark-skinned person.

The sudden fits of explosive and unsustained aggression against authority to be found in the lower class would appear to be closely related to the central role of the mother in the lower-class family.

THE LOWER CLASS AND BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

Just as the social class system served to inhibit the emergence of a strong coloured middle class, so it served to prevent members of the lower class developing as substantial businessmen. There were several factors at work here.

In the first place there was the pattern of immediate, and, on its own scale, conspicuous consumption that we have examined. Secondly, there seemed to be a personality factor involved. The conditions of lower-class family life did not appear to produce a plethora of personality types likely to flourish under business conditions prevailing in Trinidad. Sustained, long-term, continuous activity seemed to go against the grain of the lower-class Trinidadian. The opposition to "restriction" jobs, that is to the regular discipline of employment which inhibited spontaneous activity, was one aspect of this. However, even when the individual was completely independent and free from supervision there was little evidence of that self-imposed restraint which would have been necessary for anyone starting business from scratch.

Thirdly, even if the social system had produced personalities to whom a business career would prove congenial, the total effect of the social system was to render the emergence of certain business relationships difficult. Thus a purely business relationship between the lower-class vendor and other members of the society, whether lower or middle class, was difficult to achieve since it was hedged about by certain customary personal relationships. One aspect of this was the "pratique" relationship, where relations between vendor and purchaser developed an intimacy which tended to disregard market conditions. Another was the existence of "la gnappe" where the vendor after the bargain was sealed was expected to give something extra as a mark of goodwill. These were merely the out-

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ward and visible signs of a generally prevailing attitude, which almost inevitably developed in the small community. In this respect the members of the immigrant groups possessed something of an advantage. They were not so closely bound by the values of the social system. They could control credit without the danger of disrupting personal relationships, whereas the lower-class creole had to rely on the ubiquitous notices to be found in parlours, such as "Credit makes enemies, let's be friends"; "To trust is to buss and to buss is hell". Moreover, there were certain tricks of the trade in the retail business (e.g., tampering with the scales) which could more easily be resorted to if there was some psychological distance between proprietor and customer.

Thus it was that the lower-class individual contemplating a business career had to adopt a mode of life which separated him in some measure from his social group. Such separation was not easy of achievement psychologically.

A fourth factor was intimately connected with the type of family structure among the lower class. The dominance of the female within so many lower-class households meant that the family as a social system failed to encourage the development of male personalities with the initiative necessary for success in business. The lower-class mother tended to be both "task-leader" and "expressive-leader" within the family.[a]

This factor as well as the inheritance of an African tradition[b] would seem to be responsible for the fact that so much of the marketing and the small trading that actually does take place among the lower class is done by women. However, the trading in which lower-class women engage is very much small trading and there seems to be some incompatibility of social roles involved. The role of the lower-class women as mother and as a responsive sexual partner are in terms of Trinidad culture clearly defined. It is a role which is a time-consuming and energy-absorbing one. Although under some conditions the women are reduced to being almost beasts of burden, this does not interfere with their feminine role. There is no dearth of "feminine" attitudes, and participation in small trading and relative emancipation have not produced the "business woman" type resulting in some other countries from the feminist revolt. There is no "masculine protest", but the easy assumption by a mother

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[a] The distinction between the "task leader" and the "expressive leader" is taken from the work of Bales. See Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales and Edward Shils: "Working Papers in the Theory of Action."

[b] On this point see the various works of Prof. Herskovits on the cultural anthropology of the Negro in the New World.

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of responsibilities involved in the caring and rearing of children which have devolved upon her through the defection of the men-folk. It is perhaps for this reason that so much of the small trading actually undertaken by women centres around the preparation and sale of foodstuffs. Under these circumstances it could not be expected that the lower-class women would emerge as large-scale business women and become the nucleus of a creole business class.

Finally, we must note one prejudice which, shared by the lower class with the rest of the society, helped to limit even further lower-class participation in business enterprise—that is the common disregard for "dirty" forms of work. "Ambition" led the working-class away from this form of work in favour of the more dignified occupations. In terms of these values the business associations with which the lower class had the most contact ranked low. The retail trade in "shops" (groceries) was the principal one of these contacts. However, because of the conditions under which the favourite foods of the working class were stored and sold, shop-work was a despised occupation. The "shop" of the working-class area (as opposed to the "grocery" of the down-town area) was thick with flies surrounding the bags of unrefined sugar stacked away on the floor. The pickled meats and saltfish added to the smell while the shop-assistant frequently had to plunge his hands deep into the barrel of pickled pork or to handle the much-loved saltfish. The "ambitious" lower-class man, granted a different scale of values, would have been able to obtain his apprenticeship in the retail grocery business. Under the circumstances this lowly paid occupation attracted only the young men who could do no better and who therefore regarded employment there as a temporary sojourn.

The other field of retail trade, that of "dry goods", tended to concentrate in the main down-town areas in the towns. The small stores which arose in the suburbs of the towns and in the country districts (in so far as they did not belong to the people of other ethnic groups) tended to be run by women of the lower-middle class as appendages to the home, and the tradition was that a man should "go out to work". Moreover the retail dry-goods business was traditionally a province of women, the majority of "clerks" (sales girls) in the stores being "good-looking" girls. The orientation of these, as we have seen, was towards mobility by the use of their sexual charm, through marriage or friendship. They traded caste for class, and few of them used experience gained at their work for launching into business enterprise.

These are of course only a few of the reasons for the failure of

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a creole business group to emerge. But they were important ones. From the multitude of occupations such as painters, carpenters, mechanics, shoemakers, from which, in spite of the prevailing limitations, it was possible to launch out into some form of business enterprise, one suspects that the "personality" factor is one of strategic significance. Certainly the need for research on family life and its effect on the personalities of lower-class individuals would seem to be indicated.

THE LOWER CLASS AND POLITICS

The institution of adult suffrage placed the lower class, the most numerous of the social classes, in a position of strategic significance in the political system. For many of the lower classes political power meant nothing in terms of candidature for election. During the election of 1950 there were about ten candidates for every constituency, but only a few of these were lower-class in origin. The candidates for office were predominantly people of the lower-middle class type who saw in politics a means of increased social mobility.

This does not mean, however, that the lower class did not effectively determine the choice of candidates. After the advent of adult suffrage Mr. Gerald Wight, the Elected Member of Port of Spain and unmistakably associated with the upper class, did not worry to contest the election. We find that in the elections themselves social class orientation of the masses seems to have been important in the choice of legislators by the masses. Thus in the elections of 1950 this cleavage (which to a certain extent coincided with the division between Town and Country, since the middle and upper classes were resident in the towns) affected the results.

In the island of Tobago the teacher Samuel supported by the middle class and the educated section of the main town of the island-Ward (Scarborough) was defeated by a candidate dark-skinned and proletarian in outlook—Mr. A. P. T. James. In Port of Spain the radical leader of the minority group and leader of the Caribbean Socialist party, Dr. Pat Solomon, was defeated in spite of his strenuous activity in the Legislature on behalf of popular causes. The success of his opponent, the Mayor of Port of Spain, was due in large measure, according to reports of perspicacious observers, to the fact that he cultivated the steel band movement and showed himself personally prepared to mix with the lower class on its own level by attending its functions. We have already mentioned how the Hon. Albert Gomes had to seek a safe seat in the upper and middle-class district of Port of Spain after he had lost favour with the masses.

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Of the rest[a] the successful candidates were people who were able to win lower-class support: the Calypsonian, the Hon. Raymond Quevedo the Hon. Aubrey James, who has declared eternal warfare of "class against class, race against race" in the Negro-Nationalist manner characteristic of the radical section of the working class. This lower-class racial sentiment was in large part apparently responsible for the election of the Hon. Victor Bryan (now Minister for Agriculture). It is interesting to note that Bryan had beaten Gomes in the City Council elections in Port of Spain, having fought the elections in large part on racial grounds—Bryan being himself coloured and Gomes Portuguese. It was only in the district for which Bryan was returned that there took place any sharp physical clashes on racial grounds. Butler himself and his supporter Pope McLean relied on the hymn-singing charismatic leadership of Butler himself. It was only in the towns of San Fernando and Arima that candidates were returned who did not rely on a specific appeal to the lower class. It should be noted that the more moderate choices took place in the towns where education and the general social standards of the middle-class are more widely diffused among the lower class than in the rural areas.

THE SANCTIONS OF THE CLASS SYSTEM

The semi-caste system as we have described it functioned in a manner which led to a differential access both to facilities and rewards. None the less there never emerged any of the grosser features of control by which those violating the norms of the stratification system were disciplined. The reasons for this are various.

The role of religion has been frequently stressed in explaining the difference between the Protestant cultures (of England and the U.S.A.) and the Catholic countries (Portugal and Spain) in the handling of race relations in the Americas. (43) However, the religious factor does not seem to be an important one in the context of contemporary Trinidad society. The Catholic religion has not shown the same amount of proselytizing zeal which is said to have characterized some of its activities elsewhere. The Indian immigrants, for instance, have hardly felt the impact of Catholicism. There was no emergence of a strong native priesthood which has served as a form of mobility in other Catholic countries; or rather this has only now begun to emerge. We have examined the accommodation of the religious authorities to the system of stratification and have found no significant difference as between Catholic and Protestant. More important was the fact that the whole structure of the society

[a] Leaving aside for the moment the Indian candidates who were successful in predominantly Indian areas.

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was geared towards the acceptance of the ascriptive status. The inherited traditions of slavery were reinforced by the colonial status of the island community.[a]

Further, the Imperial power which was the more liberal arm of those who held status by ascription was firmly based. Unlike the position in the United States there had been no period of bitter military conflict over emancipation and "Reconstruction". Hence the rivalries such as existed in the United States between North and South found little place here. The Federal power seems to have acted in the United States more or less in the same 'liberal' fashion as the Imperial power in the West Indies in helping to protect the civil rights of the lower class, and to prevent the freezing of the situation into one of open caste. The North seemed to serve as the society to which the lower caste could escape, and also as a means of spreading more liberal ideas, disruptive of a caste system. Just as the island society was part of the larger Imperial system, so the social system of the South was only part of a national system.

None the less, as we have observed, there was less resistance to the disruption of the caste system in the island society than in the South. Emancipation in the West Indies, while creating bitterness and "ruin" for the planters, also produced a certain amount of monetary compensation and was coupled with a tradition of responsibility towards the stricken area. The amount of compensation for the slaves showed recognition of the fact that the whole of British society was involved in the system of slavery and its legal perpetuation. Thus the righteous indignation of the reformers was not a smug self-righteousness which absolved itself altogether from blame and gave unqualified condemnation to the subordinate system. Another factor was the smallness of numbers involved. The smallness of the island as a whole meant that it was inextricably bound to the Imperial system. The smallness of the white group itself meant that protection had to be expected from the Imperial power. The slav-revolt would seem to be characteristic of regimes based upon plantation slavery and the whites, as elsewhere in the Western world, had to face this danger. Subsequently, the riot and breaches of law and order had to be provided for. The white group, while enjoying majority status, were a tiny minority while the majority, blacks, enjoyed minority status. In this situation the island whites were predisposed to compromise with and conform to the standards of the larger

[a] "There is discernible in colonial policy an element of the Aristotelian theory that some men are born for the superior occupations and for that leisure which provides the basis for an advanced civilization—these are citizens—and that others are born with minds fitted for the humbler kinds of toil—slaves. For citizens and slaves read 'ruling races' and 'backward peoples'." R.I.I.A. "The Colonial Problem". Oxford, 1937.

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society. The prohibition of any legislation which would differentially apply was made by reserving such legislation to the Imperial power. Extra-legal methods of control, even of a mild sort, such as sections of the creole population used against the Indians, would have tended to lead to reprisals by the black population, and to Imperial intervention.

Moreover, the process of evolution towards self-government has been a gradual one. Due to the fact that Trinidad was an underdeveloped area at the time of emancipation, the expression of antagonism to the whites took the form of moving away from the land, while the immigrant groups looked to the island as a land of opportunity. In the circumstances there was no great traditional hostility such as spilled over into open revolt as in the Morant Bay disturbances in Jamaica. The latter led to the abandonment of a system of representative government in favour of Crown Colony rule. In Trinidad the Crown Colony system had been in existence from the beginning of British rule. Anthony Trollope, who visited the West Indies in 1858-59, commented on the position of a small white community in a predominantly black country. "It is devoutly to be hoped," he remarked of Trinidad, "for the island's sake, that it may be long before it is endowed with a constitution. It would be impossible nowadays to commence a legislature in the system of electing which all but white men should be excluded from voting. Nor would there be white men enough to carry on an election. And may Providence defend my friends there from such an assembly as would be returned by French negroes and hybrid mulattoes." (44, p. 232). In course of time it became inevitable that constitutional changes should be made. In the meantime a coloured middle class had emerged and there was a certain spread of education and democratic values among the masses. The society, as a whole, shared much more in common during the later as compared with the earlier period.

Another reason for the relative lack of racial friction in a semi-caste situation without extra-legal sanctions was the mechanism of isolation which reduced contacts between coloured and white, except in a few well-defined situations. The masses met the whites as domestic servants or in other menial occupations where there was no element of competition with, or threat to the dignity and status of, the white group. In other areas where there was a large white group in proportion to the blacks, the existence of a poor-white group, who because of failure to achieve in other spheres, were particularly concerned with the preservation of ascriptive status, led to a tightening of caste lines. In terms of Trinidad society this preoccupation with status as a compensating factor came rather from

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the light-skinned members of the lower class and from the lower reaches of the middle class.

On the part of the coloured middle class who were likely to feel most strongly such caste restrictions as there were, their home-mindedness made the use of public facilities such as restaurants and clubs of relatively little importance, so that the evidence of racial discrimination did not enter so sharply into the awareness of the middle-class person. The chief control in this group, as well as in the lower ranks of the society, lay not in external sanctions or even in symbolic affirmation of status by the white group, but in the almost complete internalization of the ascriptive scale of values. If self-rejection was so firmly rooted in the personality of the coloured West Indian, rejection by others was understandable if not altogether easy to bear. It was in the sphere of employment, as we have seen, that the problem of racial discrimination arose most sharply. As in other cases, the system of caste tends to be self-perpetuating. The system of education, formal and informal, tended to produce an acceptance of the caste pattern. Thanks to the heritage of slavery the family as an educational institution was well adapted to produce personalities suited to the caste system.

Further, there was the limited mobility permitted by the society; and, although there was a caste situation, this more or less coincided with the class system. There were no gross discrepancies. For instance, there were no coloured men who had done well in business and could feel as burdensome the restrictions of the caste-like regime. Thus there was a natural segregation in residential districts based upon economic position without any legal restrictions as to purchase of property, but this more or less tended to coincide neatly with ethnic divisions. Where, as in the oilfield areas, special facilities were afforded to Europeans, this became symbolic of inferior status, but where there were no legal restrictions on economic activity the 'natural' geographical distribution caused no resentment. Rather, it tended to act as a re-inforcement to attitudes of self--depreciation since it appeared to be "natural" that one group was superior in all respects to the others.

Thus during slavery the separation on racial grounds was frequently commented upon in the organization of churches. However, in contemporary Trinidad the geographical isolation of groups helped to prevent any strong resentment arising from those who felt that all were equal in the sight of God but who had nevertheless to reconcile themselves to an inferior position within His Temple. When this did not suffice the yard stick used was one of money, since pews within the churches could be purchased. The coincidence of caste and class lines prevented the situation from becoming psychologically onerous.

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We must stress again that although the main common value of the society was ascriptive there were other values shared by the middle and upper classes. This led to a certain identity of feeling among these groups and separated them off as a joint body from the lower class. To both these groups the latter was a much despised element. Hence a "national" front of all the non-white elements in the society against the white groups was never possible although there were, as we have seen, occasional linkages.

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE STRATIFICATION SYSTEM

While the ascriptive nature of social stratification in the West Indies and in the United States of America (as between Negro and white groups) has been described as a "caste" system, the system in Trinidad would seem to differ in many important particularisms from the classical caste system.[a] In many systems of caste there are contributory factors which tend to make the subordinations of the lower castes less onerous. Thus in the classic case of India the separate castes enjoyed a relatively high degree of self-government. The law governing the individual was, for the most part, the law of his caste. Moreover the organic analogy of caste placed each group in a position in which it was supposed to play a necessary even though inferior role in the social system. It was only the "untouchables", the "outcastes", who were placed in a system of unconditional humiliation. Those in high status, the Brahmins, also found themselves circumscribed by a large number of taboos restricting the enjoyment of the pleasures of the flesh. Like the "divine king" who possessed special powers they suffered from particular prohibitions, which did not apply to castes lower down in the hierarchy. Moreover the religious ideology of the society justified the caste system and reinforced it while giving some hope that there might ultimately be some escape from caste. Possibilities of mobility, although limited, existed for the individual as well as for the sub-caste as a group.

In terms of Trinidad society there were few compensations available to those condemned to inferior status in the stratification system. The possibilities of mobility we have already discussed and this was undoubtedly one of the means whereby the individual became motivated to an acceptance of the social order. It is of interest to examine what compensating factors there were to balance the inequality in the caste situation for those who failed in their efforts at mobility or were unable to validate their status gained on the oc-

[a] For a general description of the caste system in India and for the limitations placed on its applicability to other societies see J. H. Hutton's "Caste in India". For a recent study of a caste group in India see Shrinivas' "Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India",

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cupational ladder by obtaining social acceptance by the white group. In this connection we must note how much better fitted the elements in the caste situation in India were; for occupation, one of the sources from which a challenge could come to the caste system, was itself a caste matter and in some respects one of the differentiating features of caste.

To a limited extent the religious world outlook of the society acted as a compensatory force. In the world to come there would be salvation; at least there was an order superior in justice to the present social system. Psychologically this acted as a powerful factor among the lower class. The revivalist hymn-singing and religious groups were only in part a means of releasing emotional tension; to a certain extent they also served to give some ideological expression to the resentments of the lower class.

The religious belief-system of Christianity contains a great deal which holds an especial appeal for groups of lowly social status. The rejected stone that is to become the corner stone, the righteous who are none the less made to suffer—all found an echo in the minds of the lower class Trinidadians. The religious element with its universalistic appeal could be reconciled, however, with an attitude either of submission or of revolt. The Salvation Army made its appeal to certain sections of the lower class, but so did Uriah Butler, the rebel who sought justification for his revolt in the Bible and whose favourite hymn sung at political meetings was —

> "I will not cease from mental strife
> Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand
> Till I have built Jerusalem
> In England's (Trinidad's) green and pleasant land".

It should be noted that the Old Testament had a much greater appeal than the New Testament for revivalist groups among the lower class. This was probably due to the greater element of aggressiveness in the Old Testament, and the possibility which it afforded for identification with a chosen people who had been brought out of the "house of bondage".

Even so, however, there were elements which made the acceptance of the Christian religion somewhat onerous. The religion came to the people as a "white" religion. The depictions of the central figures were those of Europeans and the organizational structure of the Church reflected the social stratification in the island. This was uncongenial to some people. Discussions were sometimes overheard among the less educated about the 'colour' of the Almighty; and at the time of the Italo-Abyssinian war reports that coloured reproductions of Christ were used in Abyssinia aroused some interest. In

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"Glory Dead", Arthur Calder-Marshall (5) records how he was told by one lower class woman—"All you people is God people". Sometimes there was not only an identification of religion as something belonging to the white people, but also a feeling that the native found no place in its calculations. "Black people", one lower class individual remarked, "is curse. God don't like we and the devil don't want we".

Although there was nothing specific in the religious ideology sanctioning the caste system it is interesting that there were folk explanations, given usually in humour, of how black people came to be black, or how they managed to be overlooked by the Lord, which had some circulation in the society.

The upper-class or white 'caste' of the society did not suffer from any serious prohibitive injunctions. It is true that lower class life permitted a certain degree of spontaneity which was denied the members of the middle and upper classes, but this was hardly felt as a burden. The greatest burden which members of the upper class had to carry was that of being patrons to lower class and sometimes lower middle class persons. The patron-client relationship was one compensating factor which helped to balance the disparity in status between the groups. Patronage was also fostered by the Roman Catholic atmosphere which prevailed in the community and which placed a special obligation on the godfather to look after his godchildren. Although white upper class persons did not, as a rule, stand as godfathers for coloured children, a certain number of the coloured middle class found themselves thus related to lower-class children. The complex of attitudes surrounding the "godparent-godchild" relationship seems to have been carried over into relationships between the lower class and the white upper class. Hence the general use of the term "godfather" to signify these relationships.

Since the burdens borne by the upper class were light there was little possibility of rationalizing the position of the inferior groups and pretending that their position from some points of view at least were "really superior" to those of the more highly placed caste groups.

Moreover the ascriptive basis of the society stood on a factor of "high visibility", skin colour. Hence there was little possibility of disguising one's "caste" origins by obtaining some of the external marks of the superior caste or by gradually adopting its customs as appeared to be possible in India.

One psychological consequence of this was that a great deal of aggressiveness had to be directed against the self. The strength of the hostility engendered by the social system would seem to be not unrelated to the generally extra-punitive personality of the Trini-

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dadian; for coupled with an extended capacity for self-abasement there is often to be found a general suspicion of the hostilely conceived outer-world. It was as if there was too much hostility engendered for all of it to be absorbed by directing it against the self; the need for expression of the "suppressed" surplus being reflected in a general paranoiac attitude.

The desire to move upwards, to obtain the characteristics of the upper caste which were nevertheless unobtainable, led to some curious phenomena. One was the tendency for many people to think of themselves as more fair-skinned than they actually were. There was frequently a discrepancy between judgments of skin colour made by the self and those made by others. Although there are no experimental data the phenomenon is so widespread and obvious that this assertion can be made in default of such data.

There are two factors involved here. First, there is the tendency to confuse 'caste' with class characteristics. Hence it arises that obviously coloured people are referred to as being white, on occasions. But there is, in addition, the actual discrepancy in physical perception. Usually the coloured person who is called "white" is classified thus with full awareness of the actual colour of the individual. Occasionally, in borderline cases the classification blinds the individual to "obvious" signs of colour. However, there is the further factor that, usually, the self as perceived by the individual and the self as perceived by others do not coincide as regards various ethnic characteristics of which skin colour is the most important.

The dark-skinned person further makes distinctions which white or fairer-skinned people do not make. The phrase "light black" is often used as a term of description by dark-skinned persons, while the other groups tend to be amused by this distinction. To them, "black is black" and the words "light" and "black" appear as contradictory terms. Allowances must therefore be made for the fact that different categories of description are used by different groups in the "caste" hierarchy. Even if, however, we accept the distinctions made by the dark-skinned persons themselves, we still find the discrepancy between "self" and "other" evaluations.

The root of this seems to be a psychological compensation for the lack of mobility, the individual reorganizing his perceptions in order to render the wounded self-conception more acceptable. This same impulse led to people desiring to keep out of the sun for as long as possible in order to preserve their colour: to the daubing of black faces with white powder until they assumed a faint grey colour.

The acceptance of "white" or fair-skin ideals was never as great as in the United States of America. Occasionally, a lower-class man

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will straighten his hair, and occasionally too, there is bleaching of the skin and the use of a nose-straightener in order to render the features more physically attractive. Ubiquitously, men part their hair in a European fashion, and, when the hair is too short, the razor is sometimes resorted to in order to make a parting visible. It is among the women of the coloured group (as is to be expected) that we find the greatest preoccupation with physical appearance. The influence of tradition is reinforced by the influences coming into the island society from the outside world. Consequently the girls of the towns are much more influenced by the white ideals than those of the countryside.

The coloured girl who possesses "good hair" may not worry to straighten her hair; but people possessed of nearly all degrees of kinky hair patronize the beauty parlours. At first the "pressing" of the hair was done by those who had been to the United States. It was received in a slightly suspect fashion and so closely identified with the less prescribed and freer actions of those who had travelled that it even smacked of immorality. Within a few years, however, the pattern became widespread until the girl who does not press her hair, at least for special occasions, is the exception. Something of the attitudes of hostility still persist, however, as can be seen in the use of the derogatory phrase "coal-pot dougla" to describe the dark-skinned girl who straightens her hair.

It has sometimes been asserted both within the society and by outside observers (39) that this process of bleaching the skin and straightening the hair is on the same level as the conduct of Europeans who attempt to get frizzy hair at the hairdresser's or seek to get a tan in the sunshine. While superficially this may appear so, psychologically speaking the two phenomena are on different levels. The failure to acquire a sun tan or one of the innumerable styles of hair-do does not condemn the white woman to eternal consideration of herself as unprepossessing in appearance. On the other hand the possession or lack of possession of "good hair" and a "nice complexion" is central to the Trinidadian's self-evaluation as to whether he or she is lovable or not.

Another point of view put forward by girls who straighten their hair is that in origin it is not an imitation of European styles at all; or that if it so originated the reason for perpetuating it is its convenience in saving time, and the fact that it is "naturally" better. The latter argument is somewhat naive and is another indication of how completely European ideals of personal beauty have been taken over by the Trinidadian. The former has some substance in it, but the strength of the white ideals and the way in which the pattern has

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been taken over, are shown in the constant patting of the hair, as European women do when their hair is in disarray, although this is usually not necessary and involves the soiling of the hands, for the hair to be straightened has to be heavily greased. In the circumstances, the denial of the strength of the European ideal would appear to be a defensive one which seeks to salvage from a ruinous situation some vestiges of self-respect.

That the straightening of the hair has taken hold while the bleaching of the skin has not spread is probably due to several factors. On the one hand the skin was less tractable and the use of harmful chemicals was feared. In the case of the hair, although some anxiety was expressed about the consequent falling of hair from straightening, there were no immediate visible effects. On the other hand the emergence of a brown-skinned middle class possessed of many of the characteristics of the upper group led to the incorporation of a "brown skin" ideal throughout the country. Further, ethnic features were not the only means of obtaining self-respect that the society offered, and this helped to lessen the strain towards changing ethnic characteristics.

These ideals of personal beauty have reached into the countryside where the revolution which has taken place in towns in attitudes towards the straightening of the hair is now under way. The bulk of villagers in the outlying districts still comb their hair in the "corn-row" African fashion, but the "progressive" and "good-looking" girls straighten their hair on visits to the towns. The use of rouge and lipstick likewise is spreading from the towns to the countryside. The question of ability to afford these luxuries naturally crops up and even in the towns some lower-class people indulge in beautifying themselves only on special occasions. It is an indication of how deep-rooted these values are that in a destitute family living illegally on the hillsides of Port of Spain, the girls were to be seen using red tissue paper for rouging their faces.

The emergence of this brown-skin ideal among the coloured group seems to have coincided with a tendency to move in that direction by some, at least, of the white creole group. Hence there is a tendency for a high evaluation of the brown-skin girl to be shared by the whole society. This may not be unrelated to the intimate personal relationship with domestics on the part of the white creole group and to the "attraction of the stranger" and the "bias against the inner group", but this has not been explored. Certainly from one or two white creoles there have been predictions of a new brown race that will arise in Trinidad and a welcoming of this development. The factor may have also been responsible for the pattern of limited

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mobility that was allowed over the caste line dividing the white upper class from the coloured middle class.

The caste situation led to an extreme sensitivity on the part of Trinidadians on colour questions. One aspect of this was the high visibility of colour among members of the darker groups themselves. Hence there was among some dark-skinned individuals a resentment at having too many dark-skinned people around them. This was not due merely to an objective assessment of the reactions of lighter-skinned groups to the presence of darker-skinned persons, but rather to a subjective feeling of being ill at ease. Such individuals did not like constantly to be reminded of their colour and this sensitivity led also to the feeling that the presence of others was rendering them conspicuous. Hence it is that one heard occasionally remarks of the type—"I don't like too many black people around me. I want somebody to lighten up my complexion."

The barriers of "caste" seem to have led to some compensatory activities on the part of both the middle class and the lower class. The high regard for the fete, the relative lack of inhibition in emotional expression and in enjoying themselves, seems to be connected with the need to relieve tensions arising from feelings of inferiority. Among the men of both classes, but particularly among the lower class, sexual activity seems to have been one means of bolstering the weakened ego. Sometimes this was quite explicit, as for instance when the warmth and potency of the West Indian was compared with the "coldness" of the English; sometimes it took the shape of the fantasy of being desired by white women because of their sexual prowess. Among the lower classes references to the penis as "Black-people money" or "black people gold" or remarks like "I have to look after this, it is the only thing my father leave me", showed an occasional consciousness of the situation. The fact that conscious awareness of sexual activity as a compensation was only sporadic does not vitiate the interpretation offered because a widespread awareness would have been incompatible with the psychological function which such activity was playing. Some other evidence for this interpretation comes from the constant boasting of sexual prowess which we find in the Calypso.

We have already pointed out that the general emotionalism of lower-class religious groups would seem to be a form of release of tension arising from the general frustrations that the lower class experience. In the "cultural" sphere there were other compensations available to the lower class individual which helped to "balance" the inequalities in the system of stratification.

Another psychological consequence of the "caste" system which

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had some significance for the social order was negative evaluation not only of the self but of the whole social group. This led to the desire among the lower class to have white bosses rather than coloured and an elaborate mythology (with the greatest element of reality in the case of the domestics) was developed in order to justify this position. Among the middle classes there was the belief that as soon as the local man was placed in a position of power and authority he proceeded to abuse it. Some of the reasons for this we have already examined. Under conditions of self-government the negative evaluation of the local group accompanies a distrust of the local man's power. Although self-government has received such an impetus that the local man is likely to be placed in high position whether he likes it or not, the problem posed by the partial persistence of the old attitude is of cardinal importance. One reason for this is that as new departments are created Europeans have to be brought into the island to set them up, and we have seen how conflict about appointments can generate hostility. Moreover the need for dependence upon the metropolitan government for guidance and advice will continue.

More important are the consequences that these attitudes have for the release of the creative energies on the part of local people. There are still to be found traces of a tendency among those who have risen on the occupational ladder to consider themselves exceptions and to resist, often in subtle ways, the advance of other Trinidadians. The European coming from abroad brings with him the prestige of the larger community. There is a predisposition to project upon him desirable qualities (even though this is accompanied by a defensive denial of his ability). The local man, on the other hand, is the individual whose past history is completely known. He is the fellow, perhaps, who did not do so well at school, who used to be beaten in examinations by those who are now his inferiors; or, perhaps, he never obtained a secondary education at all. The suspicion easily arises that he is willing to push his fellows around. Perhaps, indeed, insecurity arising from a knowledge of the standards which the community applies predisposes him to think in that direction.

In terms of the island society the sole criterion of achievement universally recognised has been academic achievement in the primary or the secondary school. On account of the function of free exhibitions and scholarships in promoting mobility there is a tremendous interest in school performance, and the individual's record at school tends to follow him for life. Any evidence of progress which cannot be validated against this record tends to be attributed to patronage and the possession of a "godfather". On this account we

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find that many of the best educated suffer on the one hand from winning scholarships and on the other from not winning them. The successful candidates in the fiercely competitive situation tend to live on these early evaluations for a lifetime while the unsuccessful ones are inhibited from showing initiative and take a long time to recover. Frequently, indeed, there is a revulsion from all academic studies, and a tendency to lose "ambition", to cease striving. As a consequence there is a tendency for people among the middle class to believe that leadership of the community can arise only from among the scholarship winners. The fact that most of the latter chose law and medicine and were concerned with the problems of their own advancement caused them to be a favourite butt of middle class criticisms. There is some evidence for believing that the competitive evaluations of adolescence coupled with education abroad rendered such individuals unfitted for such leadership. In particular, the ability to release the potentially creative energies of others and to collaborate as equals seemed to be hindered and these were the qualities of leadership which in the context of the island society were most needed. On the other hand the psychology of failure inhibited self-development in the unsuccessful; and it was impossible for those who were unable to release creative energies in themselves to act as models or catalysing agents for their brethren.[a]

These self-depreciating attitudes are likely to have considerable consequences for the future of any institutions of higher education that are set up in the area both from the point of view of the staffing of such institutions and of the prestige and support which they are likely to obtain. One aspect of this is that the main scholarships of the island are given for study abroad although the island is committed to the support of the University College of the West Indies. There is a tendency to regard the latter institution as a necessarily inferior one, and one to which students should be sent only as a last resort. This is all the more important because of the social function which a university could play in the area.

THE SYSTEM OF STRATIFICATION: SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Recent advances in sociological theory have thrown new light on the problem of stratification.[b] It has been suggested that the most fruitful way of looking at social stratification is as a means of integrating the social system. Any social system has certain fundamental tasks to perform. It has to solve the adaptive problem, that is the

[a] There were of course exceptions—the most notable of whom was C. L. R. James—and they are increasing in number.

[b] To attempt to outline the rigorous theoretical scheme of Parsons & Shils in a few lines is obviously impossible. The reader is referred in particular to Parsons, Bales & Shils, "Working Papers in the Theory of Action".

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problem of so organizing its relationships with the environment as well as with other social systems as to ensure its continued existence. Secondly, every social system must have determinate goals. Indeed it is the existence of separate goals distinct from those of other systems and from the sub-units of its own that distinguishes the character of one social system from another. Thirdly, because a social system is comprised of a plurality of units, of many system units possessing goals of their own, there must be provision for binding the disparate forces together. The integration of the social system is necessary for its continuance as an on-going concern. Fourthly, every social system must make provision for what has been called "pattern maintenance". It must make provision for the reproduction of the motivational patterns which ensure the continuance of the social system.

Each of these "phases" of the social system tends to produce a characteristic set of attitudes and values. The adaptive problem tends to lay stress on specific performance called out by the intrinsic demands of the situation. In this phase cognitive understanding is of supreme importance. In terms of the pattern-variables of action theory the stress will be on standards of universalism since the categories of understanding have to be conceived in universalistic terms (which are irrelevant to the particular relationship of the actor to the object) and on the values of achievement. The nature of the task calls forth in this sphere specific attitudes of attachment to the object rather than diffuse ones; and, although there must be some minimum emotional commitment, the prevailing attitudes are inevitably those of emotional "neutrality" rather than emotional affectivity. Thus in evaluating the contribution of a member of the social system judgement will be based on a universalistic scale for his concrete performance with a corresponding tendency to disregard extrinsic criteria.

The goals of a society are necessarily particularistic ones differentiating it from those of other societies. Unlike the universalistic standards of the adaptive phase, particularistic standards will be employed in making judgements, but achievement in the realization of system goals will be likewise relevant. Goal attainment involves a much higher degree of emotional involvement and therefore attitudes of affectivity rather than emotional neutrality are characteristic. The attitudes are also specific rather than diffuse.

The integration of the system is marked by feelings of reinforced solidarity, it is characterized by emotional involvement; by affectivity rather than emotional neutrality, and diffuse rather than specific attitudes. The standards of judgement are necessarily particularistic and ascriptive. Finally the standards involved in the maintenance of

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the system and the renewal of the cultural and institutional patterns of the society are qualitative and ascriptive because "the important thing about the object is not what it can do but what it already does to the emotional state of the actor"; universalistic because of the generalized standards of judgement. The appropriate attitudes are those of diffuseness and emotional neutrality. Here the evaluation is made of the unit of the system "as a unit in terms of the whole complex of its qualities, i.e. its total status in the system and characterized by attitudes of diffuseness and neutrality".

In a recent paper Professor Parsons has suggested that although each social system must perform all these tasks yet the individual social system may be characterized by the relative stress laid on the evaluation of these tasks. (29) Further, the sub-systems of the society have to be integrated into a whole and the divergent values and attitudes arising from these spheres have to be linked into a coherent system. Hence there must be some common values shared by all the members of the society through which, from the point of view of the total social system, the acts and individual qualities of all its members can be evaluated. The existence of varying standards of judgement must be organized into a hierarchical whole since on account of the tasks facing the social system there must be some incompatibility of the values and attitudes generated in its different "phases". This is the reason for the importance of the study of social stratification, both as a reflection of the integration of the social system and as a focus for separating out the common value element characteristic of the individual system.

Thus a given society may lay stress on the adaptive problem in which case the paramount values are likely to be those of universalism and achievement; or it may lay stress on the achievement of system-goals in which case achievement and particularistic values become dominant. Similarly stress on system integration will make particularistic-ascriptive values paramount.

Professor Parsons in his analysis of the system of stratification of American society suggests that the paramount value system is one of universalism and achievement; that the second order of precedence goes to the cultural-latent area (universalism-quality) because of the special importance of pattern maintenance. He cites as evidence for this the high regard paid to science and education and the responsibility placed upon the family, which has been deprived of many of its other functions, for bringing about adequate personal motivation of its members. Third, come the system-integrative values. These are seldom stressed except in times of national emergency when the paramountcy of the national interest overrides all other considerations.

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Fourth and last come the values associated with system-goal attainment.

In American society, therefore, the highest prestige tends to go to businessmen and scientists (particularly 'applied' scientists); great concern is shown with education and educational achievement and the provision of the basic conditions necessary for giving equal opportunity. The politician and the public service as a career tend, on the whole, to be lowly evaluated; while there is little over-all concern with the spreading of the system-goals (individualism, the American way of life) to other societies.

If we use this method of procedure to compare and characterize the stratification of other societies we can see the relevance of this foundation.

In the Soviet Union it is clear that the system-goal values are paramount "all for the party, all for the Soviet State"; while in a society such as the classic caste system of India or the Nazi regime in Germany the system-integrative values of particularism and ascription were dominant.

While the following characterization does gross violence to the facts of the situation, they are merely set out in order to furnish a basis by which the island society can be characterized. In the case of the Soviet Union the system-goal comes first. Second would appear to be the system integration with stress being laid on the monolithic character of the Soviet State. Third, or ranking even in second position, come the values of system adaptation, that is, attitudes of universalism and achievement, while finally comes the quality aspect of the social system in "a special content sense". A comparison of the position of scientific research in the Soviet Union with the United States and the relative independence and status enjoyed by the university as an institution in each of the two countries clearly brings out the subordinate role of scientific research to the ideology of Marxism in the Soviet Union and the greater tendency to evaluate scientific endeavour by its contribution to system-goals in that society. The central position of the party in the social structure and the complete subordination of all economic decisions to the system-goals and integration of the society are also evident.

In the case of Great Britain we would appear to have a society in which the values of universalism and achievement are predominant and where the system integrative values of particularism and ascription are of great importance. The system-goal values of particularism and achievement come next and finally there is the provision for pattern maintenance, the cultural-latent phase reflecting the interlocking of these values in the social system. Thus as compared with

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the United States of America the high status goes out to a hereditary aristocracy and to a hereditary monarchy which is at the heart and centre of the political integration as well as of the system of social stratification in the society. The importance of system goals would seem necessarily to lead to greater stress on the system integrative aspects. Hence the great prestige of the higher civil servant of the political career, and of voluntary public service; the high regard for the military career and for Empire-building.

Correspondingly there are invading the cultural latent sphere the special content values of the society, the differential prestige enjoyed by the old as compared with the provincial universities, the distinction between the 'public school', the grammar school and the modern secondary school—the sharp dividing line between the elementary and the secondary school and the lesser provision of opportunities for higher education.

In terms of Trinidad society we have seen how the paramount value system was a particularistic ascriptive one. Next in importance came the system-goal aspect. Third came the universalistic achievement values of the adaptive system and finally came the "cultural-latent" area and the provision for pattern maintenance.

ORDER OF IMPORTANCE OF VALUE SYSTEMS IN TRINIDAD SOCIETY

Sphere	Corresponding Values
1. System Integrative	Particularism—Ascription
2. System Goal	Particularism—Achievement
3. Adaptive	Universalism—Achievement
4. Cultural-Latent	Universalism—Qualitative

Thus although the ethnic factor was the main status-giving factor in the society the contribution towards the system-goals of the society as part of the British Empire was also one of the main means of establishing status and one of the few means of upward mobility. The system-goal aspect almost merged in the early stages with the system integrative since the maintenance of law and order tended to be the main system-goal. Finally because of the traditions of slavery and the perpetuation of ascriptive values little stress was laid on the cultural-latent sphere. Universalistic-achievement values were relatively subordinate and hence the absence of any traditions of science or learning; and, compared with a society like the U.S.A. where these values were paramount, there was relatively little provision made for education.

However, the system-goal of the society moved, as we have seen, from the mere maintenance of law and order to the introduction of political and social institutions appropriate to a society in which universalistic-achievement values predominated, and to the accept-

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ance of a set of system-goals corresponding to those of the United Kingdom. Thus the society has set itself the task of transforming its value system from the order we have outlined above to a new order.

DIRECTION IN WHICH PARAMOUNT SCALE OF VALUES IN TRINIDAD SOCIETY IS CHANGING

Sphere	Corresponding Values
1. Adaptive	Universalism—Achievement
2. System Goal	Particularism—Achievement
3. System Integrative	Particularism—Ascription
4. Cultural-Latent	Universalism—Qualitative

In the period of transition there were present possibilities of mobility to the submerged group chiefly by stressing the contradiction between the "system-goal" values and the main ascriptive values. Hence the reason why "politics" as a means of violating the ascriptive base has been of such concern to the people of the island and of such great importance in analysing the social changes taking place within the island.

However, the primacy of the new "common value" element meant not only that there should be a re-arrangement in the hierarchy of the value system but that even though the cultural-latent or pattern maintenance area remained at the foot of the scale a special new content would have to be devised. In the context of Trinidad society it would even seem that in order to achieve the predominance of a universalistic-achievement scale of values the "cultural-latent" area will have to be raised, temporarily at any rate in the hierarchy to a position of second place.

In other words the primacy of the new "common value" element implies a rearrangement of all the social institutions in other areas so as to render them compatible with the new paramount values. However, not all the social institutions are responsive to immediate social change. Hence the change may be expected to lead to a certain amount of conflict within the system; and the contradictions between the rival systems of values will be likely to lead to tendencies towards disintegration within the social system.

In particular we must note that while political and administrative changes are relatively easily made, the family is likely to be much less responsive to attempts to induce change. The ability of the family and the education system to mould the personality types appropriate to a universalistic-achievement oriented society—that is to produce individuals adequately motivated as well as technically competent—upon this factor will depend the possibility of maintaining the dominance of the new scale of values.

In the light of these considerations it is interesting to compare

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the position in Trinidad with another society which appears to be moving in an opposite direction. In the Union of South Africa the paramount value system, as in Trinidad, was based on particularism and ascription. So long as the Imperial connection had some strength it served to modify somewhat the particularistic-ascriptive basis of the society. It is noteworthy that the most liberal elements in South Africa were oriented towards the larger Imperial system, i.e. Cecil Rhodes with his vote for every civilized man and the late Field-Marshal Smuts. However, the autonomy achieved by the society in opposition to the Imperial power tended to lead to a lessening of the strength of the forces making for the dominance of a universalistic and achievement scale of values.

On the paramountcy of the particularistic ascriptive base we see something of the emergence of a pattern of stratification in some respects similar to that of Trinidad society. Here we find the same broad caste line drawn between the white upper group and the group of coloured—in some respects a middle class—that has emerged; and here, too, we have a sharp differentiation between the coloured group and the bulk of the "native" population. The main differences between the systems of stratification would appear to be—

(a) The paramount values within the Union have been the system-integrative and there has been no really effective challenge to this system. This is not unrelated to the size of the European group and the different role which the Imperial power has played in the development of South Africa.

(b) The system-goal of the society coincides with the ascriptive basis of the society with high status going to those who maintain this ascriptive basis and derogation going to those who attempt in any way to change it.

(c) There is a corresponding subordination of the universalistic-achievement values. In view of the fact that in any society the adaptive problem has to be faced, there inevitably arise legal and other restrictions which will ensure the integrity of the ascriptive base. Hence colour bar legislation, etc.

(d) The cultural-latent sphere is also completely subordinated to the system goal and system-integrative spheres. *Apartheid* is not merely political but invades the cultural sphere as well.

The ascriptive basis of the society led to a prohibition of any possibility of the redistribution of ethnic values by legal means. Hence the necessity of what to many political observers appears the absurdity of regulating personal relationships and the private lives of individuals. Thus not only is inter-marriage prohibited but inter-

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racial intercourse is itself proscribed. Education had to proceed on separate lines so as not to threaten the caste system.

The limited possibilities of mobility existing in the West Indies were largely absent. Although the coloured group, which were closer to the upper group in ethnic features as well as culture, enjoyed special privileges, the situation possessed more of the features of caste than of class.

The acceptance of the ethnic factor as the main common value is shown in the ranking of communities so similar to that which we found in Trinidad. The coloured people enjoyed a higher status than the native and the Indians, too, enjoyed higher status than the "native" African. Again we find tendencies to the acceptance of ethnic purity as a value in itself. This was not confined to the upper groups alone, but all ethnic groups tended to rank themselves in a hierarchy in which the white upper groups came first and the native Africans came at the lowest end of the scale. The same disparate tendencies to maintain ethnic purity in antagonism to other groups appeared. The ascriptive basis of the society, it appears, even tends to encourage ethnocentrism among the upper group and to strengthen Afrikaans—English tension.

However, the social system of South Africa faces the same stresses and strains as the West Indies. The problem of adaptation leads necessarily to concern with universalistic-achievement values [a]; while contact with the outside world tends to bring predominantly universalistically oriented ideologies into the society. Hence the need, in order to preserve the values of the social system, to attempt to seal the society off from many external contacts. Hence the concern with 'Communism', with criticism levelled at South Africa emanating from the United Kingdom. Not only do these contacts serve to undermine the loyalty of the universalistically minded section of the upper caste; they also help to break down the ethnocentricity of the subordinate groups so as to make concerted action between them possible.

One wonders whether the stability of the system would be so endangered were it not for the fact that South Africa is part of a world system. Although a social system in its own right it is a system-unit of the larger world society. In the larger system the common values which lead to whatever integration there is in the world system tend to be inter-national and, therefore, disruptive of a society based on ethnic ascription. On the one hand are the 'universalistic' values of accomplishment in establishing the goals of a world

[a] On the economic impact on the particularistic-ascriptive base see the essays on South Africa in Prof. S. H. Frankel "The Economic Impact on Underdeveloped Territories".

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society. Secondly, there are the system-integrative functions both of the system as a whole and of the larger sub-systems. Although in the latter connection particularism and ascription are important they are based on different criteria, namely those of national strength, which do not coincide exactly with ethnic criteria.

National states as sub-units of the world system tend to rank higher or lower in world opinion in so far as they achieve the system goals of a 'progressive' world. Concern with the welfare and development of the backward areas brings status. In this regard, therefore, the effect of the super-ordinate system necessarily conflicts with that of a system unit with goals such as South Africa's. Even though status is largely bound up with system-integration and depends to a large extent on the possession of power, the South African regime cannot be ranked high in this regard. As a minor state in a power block it must choose between two ideologies both of which in their competition for world public opinion seek to present themselves as universalistic-achievement-oriented. A limited participation in the world community tends, therefore, to force upon South Africa a scale of values alien and hostile to its own social system.

It is perhaps for this reason that there is so much ambivalence on the part of ascriptively-minded South Africans towards world and outside opinion. Participation in world organizations is coupled with a desire to prevent intervention in its internal affairs, acceptance of common membership accompanies an unwillingness to accept the decisions of the United Nations because the majority of its members are 'coloured'. It may also be a factor contributory to the ambivalence evidenced towards the larger social system of the British Commonwealth: "Republicanism" together with acceptance of the monarchy; Commonwealth co-operation and resentment at Commonwealth criticism.

The autonomy which the Union possesses has been a powerful force in enabling it to maintain its policy of particularism and ascription based on ethnic grounds. Because the upper caste are so firmly in power, the threat of a change in the system is strongly resisted.

In Trinidad, on the other hand, where the function of Trinidad as a system-unit overrode its own system goals, the influence of the super-ordinate system worked for a breaking down of the caste pattern. There may be some benefit in 'Imperialism' after all.

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